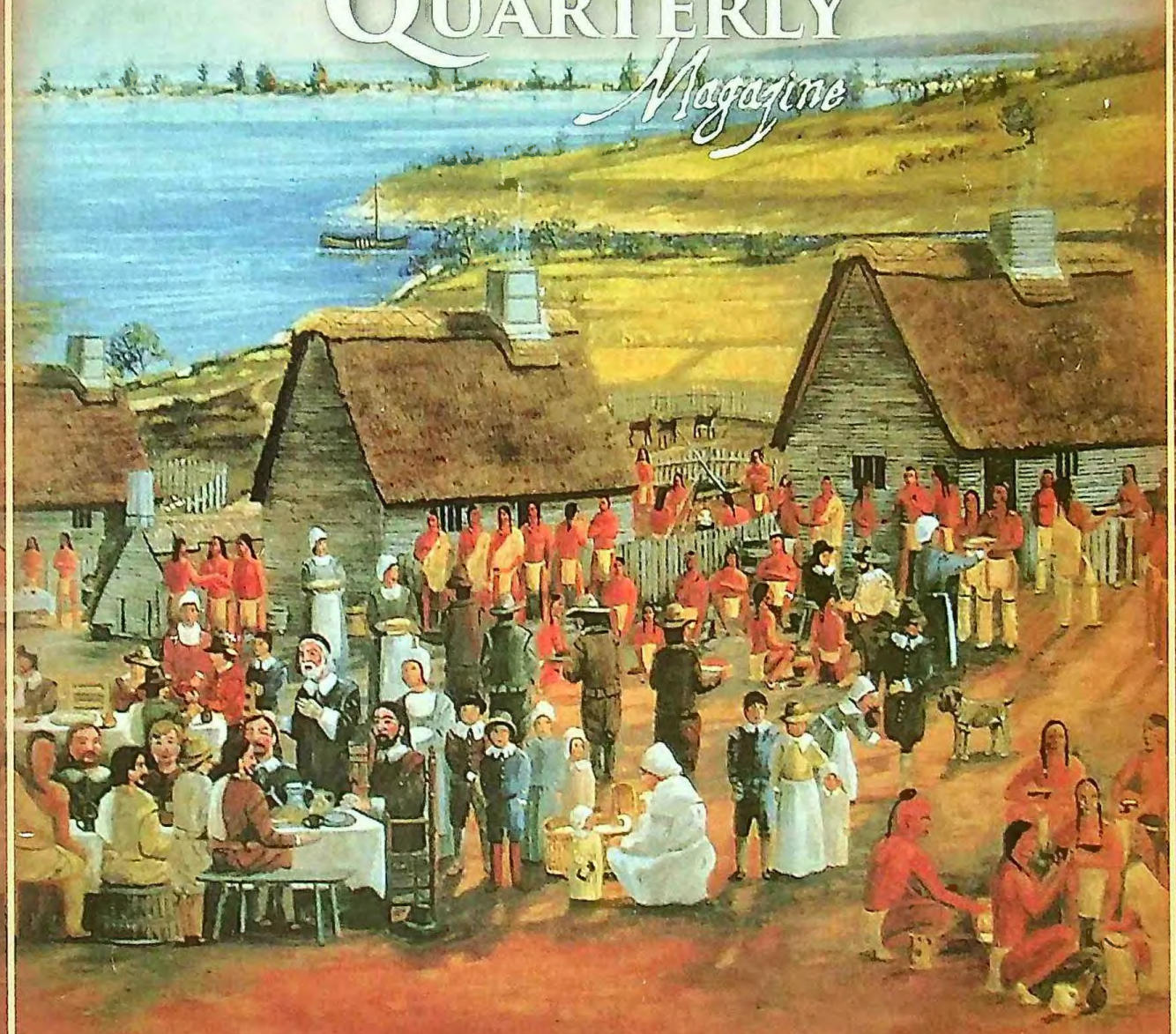
The Mayflower Quarterly Magazine



Vol. 87, No. 3 1621 – 2021 Fall 2021

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2020-2023

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The Mayflower Quarterly Magazine

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Contact our Office:
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We look forward to seeing you in Plymouth!

GBOA Meeting:
Plymouth, Massachusetts
September 8-11, 2021

We look forward to being together in Plymouth for the 2021 GBOA Meeting. The Massachusetts Society welcomes you, September 8-11.

Cover Art: This issue's cover art is from a print entitled, *The First Thanksgiving, 1621*. The print is from an original oil painting by Karen Rinaldo. The art, commissioned by The National Association of Congressional Christian Churches, was displayed at Plimouth Patuxet for twenty years.

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The Mayflower Quarterly Magazine

Volume 87, No. 3
Fall 2021

Editor's Note

Welcome to the fall edition of *The Mayflower Quarterly Magazine*!

As we enter this fall season in the year 2021, our hearts and minds turn to the First Thanksgiving which historians tell us took place sometime in the autumn of 1621. How grateful we are for the courage, fortitude, and perseverance of our Pilgrim ancestors.

▲ Photo by Denise Maccaferri.

During the fall season in New England the heavy work of spring and summer is over and the joy of harvest fills our hearts. How true this must have been for our ancestors who relied so heavily upon a good harvest. They gave thanks to their God for the abundance they were experiencing and for the comfort of knowing they were entering a winter with better housing and more provisions than the previous year. We too, like our ancestors, can enter this time of year with much gratitude.

As we celebrate the 400th Anniversary of the First Thanksgiving, we honor the event with artwork on our cover from a work entitled, *The First Thanksgiving, 1621*.

One special note of thanks goes to Denise Maccaferri for graciously giving the General Society of Mayflower Descendants permission to use her many Mayflower related images from her photography collection.

I would also like to take this opportunity to express my sincere condolences to the family of Ruth Lucchesi who recently passed away. I only worked briefly with Ruth on the MQM but her enthusiasm for our Society and her excellent proofreading skills were quite evident and much appreciated. She will be greatly missed!

The Mayflower Quarterly Magazine is your magazine and we are most eager to have your input and contributions. I invite you to become involved with *The Mayflower Quarterly Magazine*. We are always looking for interesting articles, suggestions, photos, and volunteers to help coordinate different sections of the magazine. I would especially like to receive pictures from our members capturing their trips to Plymouth and other Mayflower related sites. I encourage you to send your ideas, pictures, and news of your special events to me at MQMeditor@TheMayflowerSociety.org.

– A.R.W.

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Governor General's Message

Governor General Jane E. Groves Riddell Hurt

As a year for this administration draws to a close, I look back at a challenging and enjoyable year on so many fronts. With great optimism and a thankful heart, I remember our Pilgrim ancestors' challenges and the hope for the future that the first Thanksgiving held for them. The past four months have been busy, and the remainder of 2021 will continue to be an exciting time for the General Society of Mayflower Descendants.

On March 27, 2021, this Governor General was pleased to attend the Texas Society's Zoom membership meeting. Greetings from the General Society were conveyed and it was my pleasure to install their officers for the next administration. The meeting was well executed and the Texas Society is engaged and active.

The Oklahoma Society met on Saturday, May 1st, at the Tulsa Country Club. It was a special time to be together with a record number of Oklahoma members in attendance. There were many photo opportunities, including one with Mike Terry, GSMD's FTDNA Administrator. The Oklahoma Board of Assistants voted to send a donation to the General Society for the Mayflower Society House in honor of my visit. Thank you to the Oklahoma Society membership for your donation and hospitality!

The Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of California member meeting was held on Saturday, June 19th, in Orange County. I was honored to be the guest speaker for this election meeting and install the officers for the next term. Thank you to the California Society membership for a memorable time and your warm and friendly hospitality!

I am grateful to have been able to attend the Penobscot County Country Club for the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of Maine summer meeting held on August 7th. Essay and scholarship winners were introduced by Governor Carla Rigby. Congratulations to the Maine Society for your robust scholarship program.

The GSMD Lecture Series held the third Thursday of each month at 6:30 p.m. (ET) continued with the second in the series held on May 20th, 2021, with Guest Speaker, GSMD Member-at-Large, Bonnie Wade Mucia, presenting"75 Years Later: Creating Wartime Family Reunions Using Genealogy and DNA." On June 17th, the Lecture Series continued with guest speaker James Baker, author of *Made in America*. David Furlow gave additional commentary. On July 15th, author Stephen C. O'Neill presented his new book, *The Life of Peregrine White*. These free lectures are open to the public. Links to each lecture can be found on the General Society's website under the News & Events tab: www.TheMayflowerSociety.org.

The June 26th Executive Committee meeting was the first opportunity for the officers to meet face to face since the Special Congress election last September. We have met monthly by Zoom to move forward with the business of the General Society.

On June 24th, a crane arrived at 4 Winslow Street to set the granite slab that would become the foundation for the Bradford Statue. After it was carefully placed, and the nearby packing crate opened, the Bradford Statue was moved to its official place of honor in the formal gardens behind the Mayflower Society House. See page 9 for a photo of the statue.

There is positive activity at the Mayflower Society House (House). In April and May, this Governor General met with Architectural Historian Brian Pfeiffer of Preservation Advisory Services, who was selected to serve as Project Manager. The Executive Committee met in June with Mr. Pfeiffer for a House tour and comprehensive report. We were also introduced to artisan Fabio Bardini of Florentine Renaissance Masonry for a detailed assessment of the scope of masonry repairs necessary for the House. The knob and tube electrical wiring will have been replaced by the time you read this report. Proposals on roof repairs have been received. Claims have been submitted to our insurance carrier for the water damage to the Society House Library, which includes damage to the unique handcrafted ceiling, walls, floors, and more. Mr. Pfeiffer will present a status report to the General Board of Assistants on Friday, September 10th.

An inventory of items in the Mayflower Society House was found on an old laptop. Thanks to Mary Brown of the Connecticut Society for bringing this inventory to my attention. Mary's granddaughter conducted and entered this particular inventory prior to the auction in 2014, including descriptions, locations, and pictures. The inventory has been restored to a cloud-based program allowing Mr. Pfeiffer to access and view the inventory, yet keeping it safely stored and available to the General

Society. Carter and Sharon Wiese of the South Dakota Society also found paper copies of an inventory of House items which have been scanned and emailed to Mr. Pfeiffer. As objects in the House are being packed for safekeeping during repairs, they are being logged and compared to the old inventories.

The Executive Committee was given a tour of the National Pilgrim Memorial Meetinghouse by Former Governor General Lea Sinclair Filson. It is amazing to see the transition and how it will be transformed into the General Society's education center.

It was my pleasure to attend the New England Historic and Genealogical Society's 175th Anniversary with Sir John Major in discussion with Peter Abbott on Thursday evening, April 22, 2021. The virtual program was hosted by Brenton Simons, President and CEO of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Vice-Chair of the Plymouth 400 Commission and Plymouth 400, Inc. board member.

On May 20th, I was the special guest of Plimoth Patuxet Museum Council Member Virginia 'Ginny' Muccaccio for afternoon tea with Plimoth Patuxet Executive Director Ellie Donovan, and Deputy Director Richard Pickering. It was a wonderful afternoon with partners sharing ideas and discussing our educational efforts.

Charles C. Morgan vs. General Society of Mayflower Descendants Court of Appeals hearing was filmed live and placed on YouTube. This Governor General, Counsellor General Pennington, and others watched the live airing on Monday morning, May 3, 2021. We recently received the Court of Appeals opinion affirming the Superior Court's denial of Charles Morgan's motion to reinstate his appeal from the Superior Court. The vote was 3-0.

The *Mayflower Autonomous Ship 400* left Plymouth, England, in June for a three-week voyage to Plymouth, Massachusetts. It encountered mechanical problems and had to return to England. Its permanent home will be in Plymouth, Massachusetts. The Plymouth 400, Inc. welcome event, scheduled for July 9th, took a different course and was a smaller remembrance ceremony. Linda Coombs spoke on behalf of the Wampanoags, and I was invited to speak on behalf of Mayflower descendants. This was not a media event. A post-media press release followed with pictures. I am pleased to serve as a Director of Plymouth 400, Inc., representing Mayflower descendants.

The General Society offered a 2022 **European Mayflower Heritage Tour** [MMT22], May 29-June 10, 2022, through the Netherlands and England to its membership. Due to an abundance of interest, this tour is full. Tour participants will join me and our tour host GSMD Historic Sites Chairman Lisa Shoemaker to trace the lives of our ancestors for thirteen days. We will visit Amsterdam, Leiden (where we will tour the American Pilgrim Museum and Pieterskirk), Delfshaven, Harwich, Boston, Babworth, Scrooby, Austerfield (including St. Helena's church to see the font where Bradford was baptized), Gainsborough, Stratford-upon-Avon (birthplace of Shakespeare), Droitwich Spa, Worcester, Plymouth, Dorking, and London. We will have a professional tour director throughout the tour and local step-on guides for city tours and major attractions.

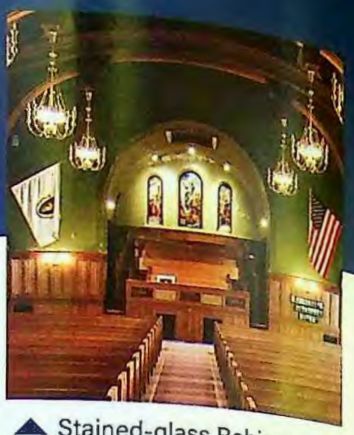
The General Society is also pleased to offer a 2022 **Tour of Boston, Plymouth, and Cape Cod**, July 9-14, 2022. Enjoy a guided tour of Boston, the Paul Revere House, Old North Church, Copps Hill Burial Ground, the Freedom Trail, and Boston Common. The tour will include a trip to the Boston State House to view the Bradford Manuscript. The tour continues to the Adams Historic Site and the Church of the Presidents in Quincy. In Plymouth, guests will explore Plimoth Patuxet, visit the *Mayflower II*, see Plymouth Rock, and ferry to Clark's Island/Pulpit Rock. On Cape Cod, enjoy a trolley tour of Provincetown, Corn Hill, First Encounter Beach, and then return to Plymouth. The group will visit the Forefather's Monument, tour the John Alden House, Myles Standish Burial Ground, Pilgrim Hall, and enjoy a historic walking tour of Plymouth. Please see the advertisement for this tour on page 11 of this issue.

The second Governor General's State of the Society webinar, was held on April 27th. The third State of the Society webinar planned for July 27th will be rescheduled. The final State of the Society webinar for this year is scheduled for Tuesday, October 26th at 7 pm (ET).

This time of year, is a time for gratitude, remembrance, and for commemoration. The darkest nights produce the brightest days. Boundless opportunities exist because of your continued support. As we look forward this Thanksgiving season, thank you for perpetuating the memory of the 1620 Mayflower Pilgrims through excellence in research and family history.

Mayflower Meetinghouse

Lea Sinclair Filson, Former Governor General and National Pilgrim Memorial Meetinghouse Charitable Trust President



▲ Stained-glass Robinson windows are back!

▲ First restored bay in nave.

The Mayflower Meetinghouse plans are moving forward on the first phase of the interior restoration. In the last week of July 2021, pre-construction meetings have put into place the final plans for the elevator that will be located at the back of the Meetinghouse.

By the time the General Board of Assistants (GBOA) meeting is held, construction will be ongoing to place the elevator into position. A portion of the back chimney will be removed internally to make room for the elevator, but there will be no noticeable difference to the outside of the building. The area to be altered is in the coal bin located inside the boiler room, and what remains of the chimney will still be operable. A boiler room of half its original size is all that is needed for modern heating and cooling equipment.

Every effort to preserve the beauty of architects Hartwell, Richardson and Driver's 1897 structure will be taken while bringing the Mayflower Meetinghouse up to today's accessibility standards and safety protocols.

Extensive photography is being done for the fundraising materials that are in the final phase before printing. Prices are being established for funding opportunities in a range that will allow all members to be able to leave a legacy for future generations to find.

One opportunity will be an arbutus (Mayflower) vine with pink flowers on it trailing throughout the entry annex that will display leaves in two sizes with names of donors. Single seats, sections, or entire pews in the sanctuary will be available for tasteful donor signage that enhances the beauty of the architecture already there. Opportunities will also exist downstairs where the interactive exhibits will invite education through exploration and entertainment.

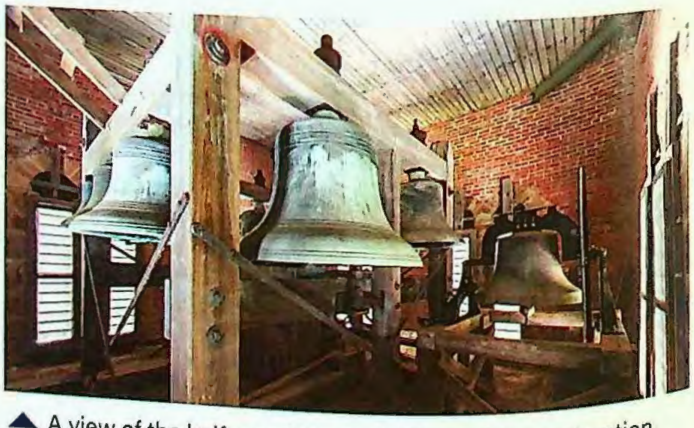
The design team is busy preparing samples of naming opportunity signage to place throughout the Meetinghouse for the Trustee Representatives to share with the Executive Committee, and there will be photographs for all members to see in the upcoming fundraising brochure.

The beautiful pictures you see accompanying this article are only initial test photos done by the design team's Kwesi Arthur, whose every photograph looks like art. His actual photo shoot will add lighting, staging, and careful scrutiny to every photo, which will add to the archives and history of this amazing American iconic structure.

The pandemic put the entire world on hold for over a year and a half, but that will not stop the legacy all of us will leave to our own descendants to honor the 400th anniversary of the Mayflower landing.

The structure itself, including planning, was built between 1895 and 1899, a period of over four to five years. In the end, our efforts to save the building may take as long. With the conclusion of the exterior restoration, the building is sound for another one hundred years. All efforts are now on the interior restoration which will occur as fundraising guides the timeline. The Mayflower Society will continue tours until its completion.

A final note – you may remember I reported earlier about the broken windows and illegal entry into the Meetinghouse. An arrest has been made after two attempts by homeless individuals to get in out of the cold, and we have been reassured by the police that there are shelters available to the homeless population nearby. Temporary security has been added to the Mayflower Meetinghouse until the permanent system is in place. In a gesture of kindness, Governor General Jane Hurt and the Executive Committee have donated $1,500 on behalf of the General Society's membership to the Coalition for the Homeless.



▲ A view of the belfry and the ten bells awaiting restoration.

MEMBER SOCIETY NEWS

FLORIDA

Elizabeth Tilley Colony of Sarasota, Florida

At the May meeting of the Elizabeth Tilley Colony, held at the Venice Yacht Club in Venice, Florida, Scholarship Chair Linda Bazell and her committee proudly announced Erin Dean and Matthew Adamo as the two, 2021 winners of the annual Elizabeth Tilley Colony Scholarships.

▲ Linda Bazell presenting scholarship awards.

▲ Ren Cushing.

Erin Dean attends Steinbrenner High School and has taken Honors and Advanced Placement courses throughout her high school career. She has been involved in the marching band, as a section leader, and has performed at the State music competition earning Superior marks from the judges. She has participated in many of the school clubs and volunteers with various charities. Erin plans to major in Education this fall at the University of North Florida in Jacksonville. Erin is a Junior Member of the Elizabeth Tilley Colony and her passenger is Isaac Allerton. She read her winning essay titled "What My Mayflower Ancestry Means to Me."

Matthew Adamo is a firefighter/paramedic and is working on his master's degree. He is dedicated to the people he serves, and passionate about caring for others. Matthew attends the University of Phoenix and plans to become a Nurse Practitioner when he completes his studies. He has volunteered with Project Medishare to provide healthcare to those in need in Haiti. Matthew's Mayflower passenger is George Soule and his mother is Governor of the Elizabeth Tilley Colony. As Matthew was unable to attend, his mother proudly read his essay.

Former GSMD Captain General, Florida State Governor, twice Elizabeth Tilley Colony Governor and Henry Samson Colony Governor Reynolds "Ren" Cushing was the guest speaker and presented the program "Those Samson Cross-Dressers" depicting the earlier lives of Revolutionary War Patriots Deborah Sampson and her relative Captain Simeon Sampson.

Approximately forty-five members attended and all were in good spirits after being limited to Zoom meetings during the past year.

– Muriel Curtis Cushing

HAWAII

Aloha kākou! The Hawai'i Society held their annual meeting via Zoom on March 7th and elected a new executive board and assistants. Member-at-Large Lorrie Link was in attendance and presided over the installation of officers. Officers for 2021-2023 are: Lynda J. Hylander, Governor; Peter Young, Deputy Governor; Lindsay Kamm, Secretary; Mary Rajkowski, Treasurer; Jennifer Mitten, Historian; William Stiles, Assistant; Timothy Apicella, Assistant; Elbridge W. Smith, Deputy Governor General; and Lynda J. Hylander, Assistant General.

A PowerPoint presentation, "A Walk Back in Time: Plimoth Patuxet" was the program, enabling those members who have yet to visit Plymouth to experience our 'āina kūpuna ... our ancestral lands.

Members zoomed in from O'ahu, Maui, Kaua'i, Texas, Colorado and Florida! We encourage our far distant members who haven't joined our Zoom meetings to do so next time. Notification of meetings and the Zoom invite are sent by email and we would be very happy to see your smiling faces!

– Lynda J. Hylander
Governor, The Hawaii Society of Mayflower Descendants.

Delano Kindred

W. Becket Soule

Celebrating its thirtieth anniversary this year, Delano Kindred, Inc., was founded in 1991 to explore the ancestry and genealogy of Philippe de Lanoy; born to Jan and Marie de Lanoy around 1602 in Leiden, Holland, and baptized there on 6 November 1603, he is the progenitor of the Delano family in America. French by ancestry, Dutch by birth, and English by association, Philippe was just nineteen when he embarked for America on the *Fortune*, landing in Plymouth in 1621. He lived with his uncle, Francis Cooke, who had arrived a year earlier on the *Mayflower*; in America, the "de Lanoy" surname was anglicized to Delano. Philippe married twice and had nine children: his first marriage to Hester Dewsbury in 1634 produced six children: Mary, Esther, Philip Jr., Doctor Thomas, John, and Lieutenant Jonathan. After his first wife's death, he married Mary Pontus in 1657 and produced three more children: Jane, Rebecca, and Samuel.

The mission of the Delano Kindred is to:

- Establish a more perfect record of Philippe, his ancestors and descendants, their genealogy and times.
- Facilitate camaraderie and family knowledge among the cousins via family reunions, a private membership contact list, and the newsletter *Bonnes Nouvelles* (Good Tidings).
- Engage subsequent generations in their family history via a repository of research and documentation.
- Collect, compile, preserve and publish relevant genealogical, biographical, and historical records.
- Memorialize locations and structures of historical significance to Delano Kindred family history.
- Support historical museums and conservatories that contain records of Delano history.

Three major projects have recently been undertaken with support from the Delano Kindred:

Delano Kindred supported the restoration, digitization, and preservation of the Samuel Delano logbook from the American brig *Grace* in conjunction with the Duxbury Rural and Historical Society in 2019. The logbook for the *Grace* is a first-hand account of an American vessel trading successfully with Japan, barely a decade after the end of the American Revolution and long before Commodore Perry commanded the entry of American vessels in 1853. The *Grace* sailed into the harbor of Koshimoto and traded with Japanese villagers in May 1791. On board was a twenty-two year-old Duxbury sailor and shipbuilder named Samuel Delano Jr., who kept the log of the voyage; it is the only English language record of this momentous first meeting between two cultures.

▲ 2019 Delano Kindred Reunion at the Franklin D. Roosevelt National Historic Site, in Hyde Park, New York, with cousin Franklin at the center.

▲ Samuel Delano logbook from the American brig *Grace*, preserved with assistance from Delano Kindred at the Duxbury Rural and Historical Society.

The gravestone of Benoni Delano (1667-1738), one of the earliest gravestones in Duxbury's Myles Standish graveyard, has recently been restored and preserved with financial support from the Delano Kindred.

Plymouth Colony's extraordinarily complete records cover many aspects of colonial life; supported in part by Delano Kindred, Jeremy Bangs has published several volumes of the series through the Leiden American Pilgrim Museum. These and other resources can be consulted on the recently upgraded Delano Kindred website (www.delanokindred.us). Delano Kindred has also supported its former President Muriel Cushing's publication of "green books," parallel to the "pink" and "silver books" of Mayflower descendants, documenting the descendants of Philip Delano through the seventh generation.

Delano Kindred members also gather annually for fellowship in historic places, usually with a Delano connection: recent reunions have taken place in Norwich, CT (2016); Charleston, SC (2017); Fairhaven, MA (2018); and at the Franklin Delano Roosevelt National Historic Site in Hyde Park, NY (2019), the home of one of our most famous Delano cousins. Plans are underway for a celebration of the 400th anniversary of the arrival of the *Fortune* in Plymouth and Duxbury this September.

Applicants for Descendant membership must be descendants of Philippe De Lanoy; proof of descent is requested, but not required. Spouse memberships, family memberships, and associate memberships (for those who are not descended from Philippe) are also available. Delano Kindred has recently become part of the GSMD Family Society Partnership.

Soule Kindred in America

W. Becket Soule

▲ George Soule memorial stone, dedicated by Soule Kindred in 1971, at the Myles Standish Cemetery in Duxbury, Massachusetts.

Soule Kindred in America was founded in 1967, when Horace H. Soule III coaxed into flame the coals of the first fire at the dedication of the newly built Soule House at Plimoth Plantation. Since that time, Soule Kindred has gathered regularly for reunions in Plymouth and Duxbury, George Soule's first homes in America, as well as many other sites throughout the United States and Canada. This past November, Soule Kindred produced a six hour "virtual reunion" with presentations from around the country; a recording is available in the "Members Only" section of the website.

The principal early work of the Kindred was to support Col. John E. Soule in the research and production of the Soule volume of *Mayflower Families* (the "five generation project" as it was then called), a project that continues over fifty years later. A newsletter is published, and sent to all members, with articles on Soule history and genealogy, notices of Soule achievements, and articles about Mayflower and colonial New England history.

The work of Soule Kindred has expanded over the years to include sponsoring research in George Soule and Mary Beckett's European origins, which have still not been definitively proven; providing college scholarships to Soule descendants, and furnishing resources to those seeking to verify their Soule lineage. The Soule Kindred website now contains updates on these subjects, and more, and is the home of the "Mayflower: Day by Day" blog on what the settlers were up to exactly four hundred years ago; there is also a Soule Kindred Facebook group. Recently, Soule Kindred has collaborated in a Children's Development Center at Plimoth Patuxet, providing an educational experience aimed at young

people. The Soule Kindred Family Tree Database is an ongoing collaborative effort to gather and make available information on all of the descendants of Pilgrim George Soule and his wife, Mary Beckett, starting with the fifth generation and continuing forward to current descendants. The society is led by a Board of Directors that is elected by the membership and operates according to the By-Laws; the Board elects the officers, including President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer.

▲ 2017 Soule Kindred Reunion at the Governor Carver Inn in Plymouth, with re-eneactors portraying George and Mary (Beckett) Soule.

A proven Soule lineage is not required for membership; members receive invitations to the reunions, access to the "members only" section of the website, and the *Soule Kindred Newsletter*. Membership categories include youth and regular members (annual, five year, and life); more information may be found online at the website: https://soulekindred.org. Soule Kindred is endorsed as a Family Society by the General Society of Mayflower Descendants.

Names

Patricia Claus

Names. In the end, that's all we have of many of our ancestors – if we are lucky.

For all of us in this group of cousins, we are so very blessed to have at least the names of ancestors to love, to thank for the fact that we are alive, and on whom we can bestow our gratitude for all we have today.

The ability to find the names, not only of our ancestors, but also the name of the ship they came to America on, is a precious thing which ties us inexorably to this nation. Before I learned I was indeed a Mayflower descendant, I discovered my Witherell ancestors, the Reverend William and his family, including his pregnant wife, who came to Massachusetts from Sandwich, England, on the ship *Hercules*.

I cannot begin to tell you how utterly thrilled I was to discover the name of that ship. And, of course, the name of the port from which they left. Although the port was not "Plymouth" and the ship was not "*Mayflower*," I was transported back in time just by being able to know the names of these people, their ships, and the places from which they departed.

I could not stop looking at this ship's passenger list. I must have looked at it continually for fifteen minutes, then again, sometime later – as if to make sure that I had not made a mistake, that they were really there.

When my husband came home from work that day, I rushed to tell him of my supposed great discovery, thinking he would be impressed. "Well, that's not exactly the *Mayflower*, is it?" he replied sarcastically.

But I did not feel deflated. I knew that this information, these names, had instantly given me an identity which I had not had prior. Something no one could ever take from me, no matter what.

This urgent need to name things, to anchor ourselves to the past, is part of what makes us human... this is why the disappearance of the book "Of Plimoth Plantation," the chronicle of the history of Plymouth Plantation, so painstakingly and lovingly written down by William Bradford over decades after the first comers set foot on Cape Cod, almost erased the names of our adventurous ancestors from the books of history.

With the disappearance of that book, written by one who had lived through the horrors of the first winter, and the subsequent years of building a town himself, we Pilgrim descendants were nearly robbed of our early history. The last known location of the Bradford Manuscript before it

went missing was the library of the Old South Church and was presumably taken by British soldiers. It would seem those in power in England tried to erase these names from history itself.

Only by chance – or as some would say, the grace of God – was this manuscript, a historical treasure, rediscovered in the library of the Bishop of London in Fulham.

And only through the dint of repeated diplomatic overtures, undertaken over decades, did the United States finally recover this book of names and events, this inestimable treasure recounting the lives of our ancestors who founded the Plymouth Colony. Now in the archives of the Massachusetts State House, where it will reside forever, we know that the names of our ancestors will truly not be forgotten.

Another important name in my genealogical research was found in the French-Canadian genealogical archives. These resources are amazingly complete. As I began researching my French-Canadian ancestry, I had inexplicably feared not being able to find the names of my ancestors there.

But thanks to the painstaking recording of the names of every one of the parishioners in the very first years of Canada, when the priests did not even have their own churches, but traveled from cabin to cabin much like itinerant workers, we have this treasure trove of information today.

These men would write down the name of each baptized, engaged, and deceased person, in complete detail – and carry this folio in their saddlebags to the next home, where they would again celebrate another baptism or wedding, or perhaps a funeral. Adding yet more names.

How much do we descendants owe these priests, who sacrificed every semblance of a normal life in the earliest, roughest years of Canada, as they recorded the names of these mostly humble people, the fur trappers, loggers, and farmers along the St. Lawrence River? Plenty, and lucky for us, it has all been digitized. Perhaps the most miraculous of all is that the priests also recorded the names of all of the native people they baptized, married, and buried, doing their best to transcribe these long names of an unfamiliar language. They wrote down the names of the parents – and sometimes even grandparents – of the native women who married the French settlers.

And amongst them, I found the name of not one, but three, of my native ancestors who married French soldiers who came to Fort Louisbourg in what is now Nova Scotia. Unfortunately, two of their original names were not recorded – just their new Christian baptismal names. But that one name that survived is a living link into my past, and one that simply transports me back in time whenever I think of it.

"OXINOUROUDH," the priest wrote, all in caps, incredibly even recording the French translation of her name, "Ouestnordouest," or "WestNorthWest." She was a native Abenaki girl who ended up on Isle St. Jean (later named Prince Edward Island). Oxinouroudh married one of the French soldiers stationed at Louisbourg.

How utterly perfect – her name was the very direction all of my European ancestors took in settling the New World, up into Canada. Even years later, I cannot wrap my mind around the fact that we know her name. And I may never be able to fathom how fortunate we are to know it, and to know even this slightest bit about her, especially since she lived at a time when even in England, women's full names were often not recorded, even when they married.

Names, whether they are Native American or European, are precious links to our past. We are so very fortunate to know many of our ancestors' names and that the General Society of Mayflower Descendants records them forever. We are lucky to have each other and to be able to do whatever we can to support this amazing organization, which exists to ensure that our pioneering ancestors, and their names, will never be forgotten.

New Statue

The statue of Governor William Bradford, created by Sculptor and Mayflower Descendant Dee Clements in his Loveland, Colorado, studio, arrived in Plymouth in June and was unveiled and moved by crane to its official place of honor in the Colonial Revival Garden behind the Mayflower Society House during a meeting of the Executive Committee. The official dedication of the Bradford Statue will take place during GBOA events this September. In the picture, the Bradford Statue is flanked on the right by Governor General Jane E. Groves Riddell Hurt, on the left by Former Governor General George P. Garmany Jr., MD and surrounded by the members of the Executive Committee. Welcome home Governor Bradford!

▲ Photo by Denise Maccaferri.

The Mayflower Society Welcomes 100,000th Member

Scott Watson, U.S. Army Retired, grew up in America, went on to defend his country, and has now become the 100,000th descendant to be accepted into the General Society of Mayflower Descendants (GSMD). His ancestor, William Brewster, landed here in 1620 on the ship *Mayflower*. Fifteen generations later, Brewster's family is still telling the story.

"GSMD has member societies in every U.S. State, District of Columbia, Canada, Europe and Australia," said GSMD Governor General Jane Hurt. "Since this year marks the 400th anniversary of the first Thanksgiving, the interest in the Mayflower story has been enormous."

In an emotional Zoom call, Scott learned the news from Governor General Jane Hurt, Historian General Midge Hurtuk, Virginia Society Governor James Maloney and Virginia Society Historian Jamie Callendar.

As they all traded stories about how they first learned of their Mayflower heritage, lots of laughs were exchanged.

"I am honored to continue the lineage to a Mayflower ancestor and to get to know all my distant relatives when I attend Virginia meetings," said Watson. "Now that I know I am a Mayflower descendant, I am anxious to go to Plymouth to see where it all began."

Lucky for Scott, he will get his wish. In addition to bestowing a gift certificate to Scott for Mayflower Society swag, he will receive a trip for two to Plymouth, compliments of See Plymouth, the local tourism organization.

"The society has prevailed since 1897 because the Mayflower Story is so important to American history," said Historian General Midge Hurtuk. "It is through encouraging those who descend from the Pilgrim ancestors to research their lineage that we make sure the story is told forever."

Rocky Nook Imaginings

Andrew R. Whipple

At first glance, the Pilgrim John Howland Society property at Rocky Nook appears unremarkable. Its humble location along Howland Lane in Kingston, Massachusetts, offers little to draw attention to it. It is a New England mound of packed earth situated in a somewhat well-developed coastal neighborhood set back off the road and covered by rocks, trees, and dirt. A casual observer might simply bypass this site altogether.

But take a closer look. This hill also holds memories and artifacts from a bygone era. And these gems, buried in the rich dirt of this hill, are cherished by thousands of descendants of Elizabeth Tilley and John Howland, Pilgrims. Each piece has a story to tell. You see, John and Elizabeth Howland lived and raised a family here and this fact transforms a prosaic hill into a sacred spot of mystery, awe and deep appreciation.

In the Summer of 2019, prior to the John Howland Society annual meeting, I was able to visit this hill while the yearly archeological dig was unfolding.

▲ Eldon Gay and Andrew Whipple holding a historic brick.

On this particular day, I encountered Ray Duffy, Craig Chartier, Eldon Gay, and a number of others volunteering at the site. They were all vigorously digging, sifting, and searching for the remnants of outbuildings associated with the main house and other buried items.

While foundation outlines and posthole remnants were the primary interest of these diggers, artifacts from the past like spoons, pins, nails, tobacco pipe fragments, clay pot shards, and other items were a hoped for bonus!

While I was at the dig, Eldon Gay, the John Howland Society historian and the Howland Dig coordinator, offered a tour of the property as well as the privilege of holding a brick found nearby. This brick, I am told, was quite likely from the original hearth. Its distinctive characteristics suggested it was from the early Howland era.

▲ John Howland re-enactor and Andrew Whipple.

Holding this item from the long ago past did something visceral to me. As I considered the red clay brick and turned it over in my hands, my imagination unfolded as I more deeply contemplated this handmade treasure from the past.

For a moment, I found myself transported back in time – as if I were in a scene from a science fiction movie – to the last time a human hand touched this common construction material.

In this timeless moment, I found myself far away from 2019 and standing amidst the Howland home as the evening meal was prepared in the open fireplace. There I stood as young John Jr., Desire, Hope, Elizabeth, Lydia, and Hannah sat around a wooden table while their mother Elizabeth busily prepared lamb stew in a large pot hanging on a hinged hook dangling over the open flames in the fireplace. I quietly enjoyed observing my Pilgrim family during their mealtime preparation.

This brick, I imagined, was part of the facade of the hearth and was regularly touched by members of the family as they carefully tended the fire used for cooking and as a heating source in their home. Holding the brick, preserved for centuries in the nearby dirt, connected me back to John and Elizabeth Howland who are my tenth great-grandparents and their children. The world in which they lived became alive. It was thrilling!

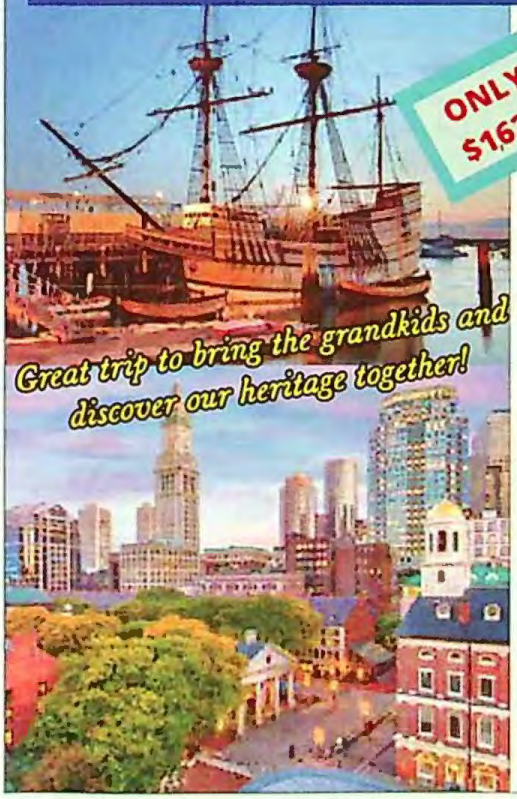
In addition to providing connections to the first Howland occupants of this homestead, this brick also presented a silent link to another Howland ancestor.

It turns out, my sixth-great-grandmother, Mary Gorham, also a Howland descendant, lived at this homestead. According to Eldon Gay, Mary Gorham married, as her fourth husband, Capt. Benjamin Lothrop and she was the last descendant of John Howland to live on Howland Lane in Kingston, Massachusetts.

Evidently, Benjamin Lothrop had earlier married Experience Howland as his first wife, and purchased the John Howland Homestead from John Howland's grandson, James. This additional connection only added to my sense of belonging to the Howland family, and the broader Pilgrim community.

The Howland acreage at Rocky Nook is indeed quite remarkable. It's a sacred place whose mysteries are only slowly being uncovered. Perhaps you might visit this mound of earth and join other diggers and sifters one day as they forage about in the rich New England soil in search of precious artifacts. And perhaps these relics from the Howland site, with some imagination, might also transport you back to a different Pilgrim time and place.

Follow in the Footsteps of the Pilgrims...



On the Path of the Pilgrims
July 9-14, 2022

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Lisa Shoemaker - Historic Sites Chairperson
HistoricSites@TheMayfowerSociety.org

Uncovering a Mayflower Ancestor: An Australian Perspective

Lisa Apfel

▲ Likely James William Tibbetts taken between 1901 and 1911.

Background

My goal, when I started researching years ago, was to find how all of my ancestors arrived in Australia. As one would expect, I discovered a mix of people who had come to Australia as convicts, free settlers, and subsidized immigrants from England, Scotland and Ireland.

As my research progressed, I had fewer and fewer ancestors left whose arrival in Australia remained a mystery. One of the remaining mysteries was my great-great-grandfather James William Tibbetts. Having exhausted all freely accessible resources, I invested in the purchase of his death certificate. Much to my surprise, I discovered that he was born in Boston, Massachusetts, United States of America! As you can imagine, I was stunned.

Armed with this new fact, I started on a completely new adventure to find information on my American ancestors starting with my great-great-grandfather James William Tibbetts.

James William Tibbetts

In the spring of 1877, great-great-grandfather James William Tibbetts, my American-Australian ancestor, with his brother Waldo and half-brother John Felix boarded the newly constructed clipper *Annie H. Smith* at New York.[1] The *Annie H. Smith*, with 350 passengers arrived in Australia eighty-six days later on the 17 July 1877, and was promptly sent to quarantine due to scarlet fever being on board.[2]

James married a young single mum named Janet Dykes. Together they had seven children (five surviving to adulthood). They were Leslie, Millicent, James, Stanley and Allan. Millicent is my great-grandmother.

▲ Civil War envelope with Tiger Regiment. (Citation: Civil War envelope showing 43rd Massachusetts Infantry Regiment insignia, also known as Tiger Regiment. United States, None. [Between 1862 and 1865] Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2011648683/.)

James William Tibbetts died in Bathurst in 1911 and is buried in an unmarked grave.

James William Tibbetts' American Ancestors

One generation back from James, I discovered his father, William Tibbetts. William was an American Civil War veteran who died at the respectable age of eighty in 1905.[3] He had fought with the Union Army as part of the 43rd Massachusetts Militia Infantry Regiment, (also known as the Tiger Regiment) D Company.

▲ Millicent Tibbetts and husband Alfred Knight 1907.

Two more generations back and I was with James' great-grandfather Ephraim who had fought with the Massachusetts Continental Regiment in the Revolutionary War. It was Ephraim's father Ichabod, then aged fifty-four, who had been drafted to serve, however the young (sixteen-year-old) Ephraim stood in his place.

I also met my ninth-great-grandfather Thomas Pratt who was 'killed by Indians'.[4] Titled Sergeant, he was killed during the Sudbury Fight of King Philip's War. His death left his five children orphaned. The eldest daughter was severely disabled and was to be 'provided' for by her brothers when they reached twenty-one years of age.

Discovering My *Mayflower* Connection

Then the discovery which led me to the *Mayflower* – finding my eleventh-great-grandfather Richard Warren, a passenger of the *Mayflower* and an ancestor of my great-great-grandfather James William Tibbetts. The facts around Richard's life are scarce. He was 'of London'[5] and had married on the 14 April, 1610,[6] at Amwell, Hertfordshire. Richard sailed on the *Mayflower* without his family, leaving his wife Elizabeth behind to care for their five young daughters aged infant to ten years old. Elizabeth and the girls arrived in Plymouth Colony almost three years later on the *Anne* in 1623 after which time Richard and Elizabeth added two sons to their family. Richard Warren, a signer of the Mayflower Compact, died in 1628.

What I learned About the *Mayflower's* Significance

So how do I view this discovery of a Mayflower ancestor, and what does it mean to an Aussie such as myself? Initially, I was excited as I thought the *Mayflower* was the equivalent of our Australian First Fleet. It didn't take long to realize, this wasn't the case, but having no knowledge of America's history, this naïve Aussie was starting from scratch.

With research, I learned of the Mayflower Compact and its significance as a precursor to the United States of America Constitution. I learned of the colonists' hardships; that some were religious Separatists who disagreed with the established Church of England and were fleeing persecution, and others were merchant venturers looking at the enterprise as a profit-making undertaking. I learned that some were craftsmen, and some were indentured servants. I learned that modern Thanksgiving celebrations are an evolution from the first harvest celebration at the Plymouth Plantation. I learned that the Pilgrims and Pokanoket Tribe of the Wampanoag Nation had a largely diplomatic relationship that lasted fifty-five years before the deadly conflict known as King Philip's War.

What my Mayflower Ancestry Means to Me

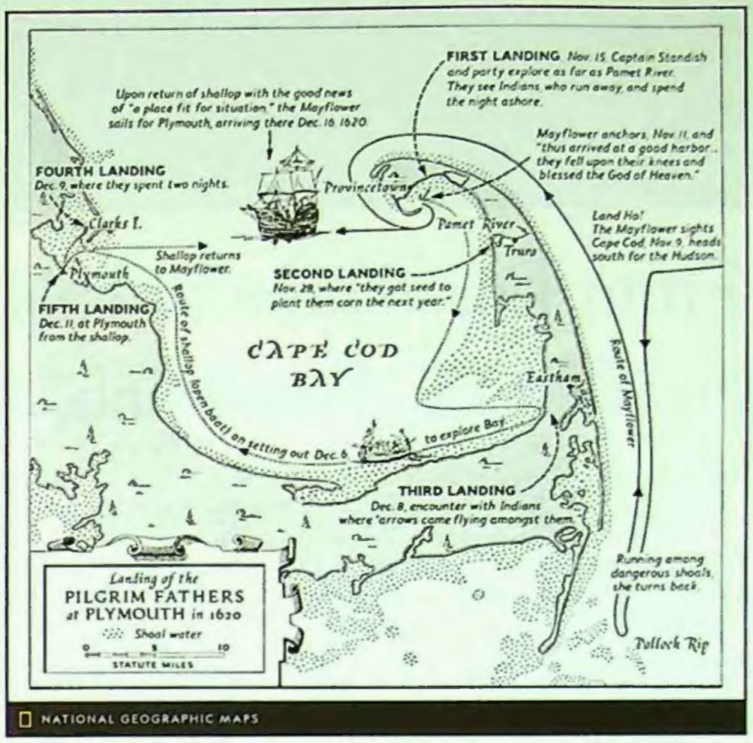
As an Aussie, Thanksgiving has no significance to me. It is not a holiday we celebrate. The resilience of the Mayflower passengers is not unique amongst my ancestors.

For this Aussie descendant, finding pride in Richard Warren lays in his signing of the Mayflower Compact.

This remarkably succinct document is extraordinary and should be celebrated. It established self-government[7] for the first time in human history. That meant the colonists could elect a leader and make rules that they all agreed to abide by. It allowed them to set up a court that allowed for decisions to be made by the elected representatives. It meant that they were not relying on the King of England to make decisions for them, they were making decisions for themselves.

This amazing document was the seed of all democracies, including Australia. My reason to have pride is in being a descendant of a Mayflower Compact signer rather than simply a Mayflower passenger.

My great-great-grandfather James William Tibbets, a preeminent Mayflower descendant in Australia, chanced his hand in another new world and became the link for so many Australians to the story of the *Mayflower*.


FIRST LANDING Nov. 15. Captain Standish and party explore as far as Pamet River. They see Indians, who run away, and spend the night ashore.
Upon return of shallop with the good news of "a place fit for situation," the Mayflower sails for Plymouth, arriving there Dec. 16, 1620.
Mayflower anchors, Nov. 11, and "thus arrived at a good harbor... they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of Heaven."
FOURTH LANDING Dec. 9, where they spent two nights.
Provincetown
Clarks I.
Pamet River
Land Ho! The Mayflower sights Cape Cod, Nov. 9, heads south for the Hudson.
Truro
Shallop returns to Mayflower.
Plymouth
SECOND LANDING Nov. 28, where "they got seed to plant them corn the next year."
FIFTH LANDING Dec. 11, at Plymouth from the shallop.
route of shallop
CAPE COD BAY
Eastham
route of Mayflower
Shallop beats out, setting out Dec. 6
to explore Bay
THIRD LANDING Dec. 8, encounter with Indians where "arrows came flying amongst them."
Running among dangerous shoals, she turns back.
Landing of the PILGRIM FATHERS at PLYMOUTH in 1620
Shoal water
STATUTE MILES
Pollock Rip
NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAPS

▲ *Mayflower* landing sites.

1 "New South Wales, Australia, Unassisted Immigrant Passenger Lists, 1826-1922. 1877- July- Annie H. Smith," *Ancestry*, 1877, https://www.ancestry.com.au/imageviewer/collections/1210/images/imaus1787_081068-0149?pId=132625.

2 The Riverine Herald (Echuca, Vic. : Moama, NSW : 1869 - 1954; 1998 - 2002), "Miscellaneous," 1877, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/115203511?searchTerm=annie%20h%20smith.

3 "Massachusetts, U.S., Death Records, 1841-1915 For William R. Tibbetts, 1905, Norwood," Ancestry, 2013, https://www.ancestry.com.au/imageviewer/collections/2101/images/41262_b139796-00473?pId=1029082.

4 George Walter Chamberlain and Channing H. Cox, *History Of Weymouth, Massachusetts. Published By The Weymouth Historical Society, Howard H. Joy, President. Under Direction Of The Town. Vol 1* (repr., Boston: [Boston, Wright & Potter Print. Co.], 1923), 327.

5 William Bradford and Edward Winslow, *Mourt's Relation, Or, Journal Of The Plantation At Plymouth*, ebook (repr., Boston: John Kimble Wiggin, 1865), 44, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo1.ark:/13960/t0pr90c6t&view=1up&seq=5,.

6 Stephen G. Doree, *The Parish Register And Tithing Book Of Thomas Hassall Of Amwell* (repr., Hitchin: Hertfordshire Record Society, 1989), 157.

7 "The Mayflower Compact," Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2002, https://www.crf-usa.org/foundations-of-our-constitution/mayflower-compact.html.

From Dissenters to Pilgrims, 1608-1613
St. Peter's, Sandwich, Kent

Michael R. Paulick

▲ St. Peter's, Sandwich painting by Jeremy Dupertuis Bangs c2017, with permission

During the early 17th century, Separatists from St. Peter's parish, Sandwich, Kent, sailed to Leiden, The Netherlands. They joined the small church, pastored by Pilgrim John Robinson, called the "Christian Reformed Religion."[1] The members of the church called themselves Saints. They described Saints as members of a visible church, or a combination of holy people who worshipped God using only words from the Bible.[2] They were part of a group that, since the 19th century, we have called the "Pilgrims." That name will be used in this article for St. Peter's Separatists after they arrived in The Netherlands about 1608 to 1613.[3] James Chilton, Mrs. Chilton, Mary Chilton, and Moses Fletcher from Sandwich sailed on the *Mayflower*. Later, a few others sailed to New England, but most died in The Netherlands or returned to England.

This article outlines some of the religious conditions that may have encouraged dissenting parishioners of St. Peter's, Sandwich, to separate from the Church of England and move to Leiden. The article concludes with the two most likely reasons the Sandwich Separatists moved to Leiden about 1611 to 1613.

Sandwich, Kent, is an ancient English port on the southeast coast of England. It was one of the busiest ports with frequent sailings to the European continent, including the Low Countries, the area that we now call The Netherlands. The population of Sandwich was approximately 5,100 in 1605.[4] St. Peter's was the largest and most populous parish, accounting for about fifty percent of the town's population.[5] Sandwich was a crossroads of Europe and was "influenced by Protestant, Lutheran, and Reformed Church theologies from mainland Europe."[6]

The Flemish and Walloon Church from 1561

The Flemish Church was an example to the Sandwich Separatists of how another religion could be independent and outside the laws of the Church of England.

In 1561, 406 Flemish and Walloon adults and children were allowed to settle in Sandwich to "helpe," "repayre," and revive the economy of the town by introducing a new clothing industry. The majority worked as bay cloth weavers and makers or in occupations related to cloth manufacturing.[7] The original settlers, sometimes locally called "strangers," were divided, and housed in the twelve wards of the town. That meant their population was distributed throughout the town as neighbors of, or living with, the English townspeople.[8]

In 1564, the Flemish or Dutch members of the church were allowed by the town government to use St. Peter's Church. This was because of the plague and of the "grate danger of the infexion of the whole towen." This was to be "withowte lett or troble of any inhabitante."[9] Some Flemish or Walloon names were recorded in the St. Peter's parish register. These entries may indicate that some immigrant refugees understood English, or enough English, to participate in christening and marriage services. There were many burials noted in the parish register as "straing" [stranger] or "flemynge" but these descriptions were inconsistent. The Walloon [French speaking] Church members were moved to Canterbury in 1575 by agreement with the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.[10] The remaining refugees were often called the "Dutch" Church.

In 1605, about twenty percent of the Sandwich population was Flemish, also called Dutch.[11] There was an additional unknown percentage who were British born, but of Dutch descent. In May 1605, Sir William Monson, an English admiral, and politician, reported:

The dispositions [opposing the British Navy and rooting for the Dutch ship] of the [thousands of] people of *Sandwich* . . . from the Shore . . . But it was no marvel, for most of the Inhabitants are either born, bred, or descended from *Holland*, their Religion truly *Dutch*, as two of the grave ministers of *Sandwich* [one minister may have been from St. Peter's] have complained to me, protesting that they think that the Town, and the country thereabouts, swarms as much with [religious] sects as *Amsterdam*.[12]

Enough of the population was of second- or third-generation Dutch descent to influence religious attitudes in the town although some appeared to be of English descent. Sandwich "had close commercial and trading links with the near Continent" and would have been familiar with the "Flemings."[13]

Pilgrim Robert Cushman, from nearby Canterbury, wrote in 1619 about the "reformed Churches":

We finde them separated and distinguished from the vaine world, and so are not ours [the parish Churches of England] . . . the things they doe in the *worship* of God are voluntary, and without *compulsion*, so are not ours . . . their officers are chosen by the congregation, so are not ours . . . their *worship* is only in the Word of God, and the lively graces of his spirit; so is not ours . . .. And all things sorting together . . . we are farre from condemning them, and are farre neere them in our practice, then the [Church of England] parish assemblies are.[14]

An example of a Flemish English speaker was Willem Baudaert, a theologian, who "learnt English playing with local children on the street [in Sandwich]."[15] Dr. Christopher Joby, the author of *The Dutch Language in Britain (1550-1702)*, agreed that it was possible that some English children also learned Dutch from playing with migrant children. No contemporary evidence has been discovered. When asked for his opinion, Dr. Joby thought it more likely that the Flemish children learned some English and it was less likely that English children learned Dutch.[16]

Flemish and Walloons began emigrating to Leiden in 1590 and in increasing numbers during the period 1605 to 1609. Four hundred two persons from Sandwich were recorded in Leiden during 1576 to 1640.[17] There were "frequent comings and goings between the Dutch communities in England [including Sandwich] and the Low Countries . . ."[18]

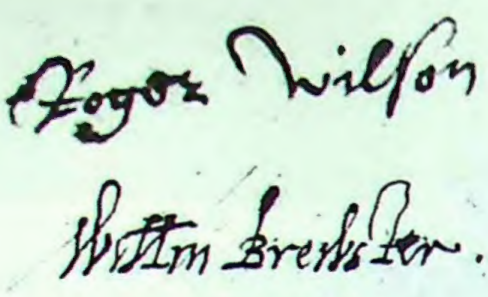
Roger Wilson – An Early Pilgrim in Leiden from 1608

Roger Wilson was a guarantor for the citizenship of fourteen members of the Pilgrim Church between 1610 and 1618. He was also a witness for the groom in eleven marriage ceremonies for Pilgrim Church members.[19] A record from Sandwich on 22 June 1608, lists Wilson as a baker who owned a small amount of grain.[20] The next known record is Wilson's citizenship registration in Leiden on 7 December 1609. Residents were required to live in Leiden for at least one year and a day to become citizens.[21] Therefore, Wilson probably arrived in Leiden between the end of June and early December 1608 when he was twenty-four years old. Wilson was one of the early members of the Pilgrim Church when it moved to Leiden.

Jeremy Bangs, an important Pilgrim historian, wrote that Roger Wilson "was clearly a leading member of the Pilgrim Church" in Leiden who seemed to have "achieved a comfortable level of financial security."[22] Bangs also wrote that Wilson, and his citizenship guarantor, Pieter Boeye, were part of "a large group of immigrants . . . from Sandwich, who were in Leiden already before 1609."[23]

Roger Wilson was baptized in St. Clement's, Sandwich, on 5 April 1584, the son of Thomas and Joan (Jacob) Wilson.[24] Both his parents died at a young age in late 1584[25] and he was left in the care of his maternal grandfather, William Jacob, mayor of Sandwich in 1589.[26] In 1563, Roger Manwood founded a free school in Sandwich to which William Jacob was a subscriber. He was also a member of the Common [Town] counsel.[27] Jacob probably arranged for his grandson, Roger Wilson, to attend that Manwood school for a better education.

When William Jacob died in 1599, Roger Wilson was placed in the guardianship of his maternal uncle, John Jacob, from St. Peter's parish.[28] Roger Wilson was fifteen. John Jacob may have been a Puritan or Puritan sympathizer. Roger Wilson was a member of a politically well-connected family and enjoyed the support in Sandwich of John Jacob, his influential and wealthy guardian uncle. When John Jacob died in 1622, his St. Peter's burial record was "Master John Jacob Jurat."[29] Master was the honorific title used for a high-ranking citizen. A jurat was an elected member of the town government.



▲ Roger Wilson will, 16 September 1613, Brewster as a witness. Leiden, 0506/94/67, Pilgrim Archives.

In 1613, Wilson may have thought he was terminally ill. He made a will dividing his estate equally between the Pilgrim Church and his unnamed heirs in Sandwich.[30] William Brewster, who was the representative for the church, also signed the will. Wilson, then a serge weaver, recovered. Wilson married Elizabeth Williams in 1616.[31]

In 1619, Roger Wilson, aged about thirty-four, and John Ellis, about fifty, were character witnesses in Leiden for Richard Masterson, the Elder. They both declared that they had known Masterson for seven years and that he was honest, God-fearing, and to their knowledge, had not committed any bad deeds.[32] All three were parishioners from St. Peter's, Sandwich, and probably knew each other many years before the declarations. Eliis, Masterson, the Elder, and Masterson, the Younger, were named as three of the four "chiefest sowers of these [radical religious] sects" in Sandwich in a 1613 letter from the Privy Council in England.[33] They all likely shared the same radical Separatists beliefs.

Sandwich, a Puritan Local Government, 1608-1615

Verrall, Jacob, Richardson, and Rucke, Sandwich government officials, were wealthy and powerful men who tolerated or supported Separatist activities. They all were probably Puritans and had Puritan friends.

Christopher Verrall, an elected official, was summoned for not receiving communion at Easter 1603. He was told to appear at Canterbury St. Margaret Ecclesiastical Court where, in October 1603, for some unknown reason, the case was dismissed.[34] A 1613 letter from the government Privy Council complained that Christopher Verrall, John Jacob, Nicholas Richardson, and Rafe Somer had neglected their duties in failing "to correct and suppress the sayd heretical practice [of the St. Peter's Separatists] but have underhand may[n]teyned and protected the offendors . . .." [35] Verrall was a jurat, Jacob was a mayor of Sandwich in 1605, 1612, and a jurat in 1615. Richardson was a mayor in 1603 and 1611, and Rafe Somer is unknown.[36] A further letter in 1614 from the Privy Council, when Arthur Rucke was mayor, complained that Separatists in Sandwich were "more insolent and incorrigible" and were in communication [presumably by letter] with "Amsterdam and Leiden." Rucke was required to have "special care and regard" against any dissident or "Brownist." [37]

Christopher Verrall wrote a will in 1615. His 1615 inventory listed religious books which indicated that he was a serious Puritan.[38] The books were:

Foxe Book of Martyrs – bequeathed to Edward Kelke
Three greate Bibles
A Booke of Chronicles – a book of the Hebrew Bible
Mr. Tindall his works – [*The Whole Works of William Tyndale, John Frith, and Doctor Barnes*, 1573] [39]
Josephus de Antiquitate – [Flavius Josephus' *De Antiquitate Judaica*]
Luther on the Galathyans – [Martin Luther, *Commentary on The Epistle to the Galatians*]
Nine other books [titles were unspecified]

The value of his inventory was £570 but included debts that totaled over £250.[40] Verrall was Roger Wilson's uncle and John Jacob's brother-in-law as a result of his marriage to Mary Jacob in January 1588/9.[41]

Verrall was Richard Masterson, the Younger's, master. Masterson was a known Sandwich Puritan who was constantly in trouble with the Church Court.[42] Verrall bequeathed money for a remembrance ring to Masterson, the Younger. He named Arthur Rucke, Edward Kelk[e], John Jacob, and George Gosfrieth as his executors.[43] They likely were all Puritans or sympathizers to be named as Verrall's executors. Rucke was mayor of Sandwich in 1606 and 1613, Jacob in 1605 and 1612, Kelk[e] was Town Clerk, for life, from 1598 to 1623, and Gosfrieth was mayor in 1621.[44] Verrall, Jacob, Richardson, and Gosfrieth were all from the parish of St. Peter's and would have known Roger Wilson and other Separatists from St. Peter's.

Harim White – Conflict in St. Peter's from 1601

John Stibbing or Stybbing was St. Peter's rector from 1578 until his death in 1601. In 1601, Harim White, at age thirty-three, was appointed the replacement rector when Stibbing died. The best information for White is from the Clergy of the Church of England Database and his 1618 book dedicated to his mother, Dorothy Dalby. White seemed to be an apologist for the Church of England when he wrote in 1618:

I doe assuredly know, that this Church [of England] at this day (God have the praise) is as well furnished with learned men, as any of the reformed Churches in all the World: as I can also shew and prove . . ..[45]

That opinion almost certainly, put him in conflict with the views of Puritans and Separatists. That may have accounted for some of the religious strife in St. Peter's in 1601. Another controversial assertion was that the Godly

should submit to the magistrates.[46] White was a chaplain to James I who famously said at the 1603/4 Hampton Court Conference that "I shall make them [the Puritans and dissenters] conforme themselves, or I will harry them out of this la[n]d, or else do worse."[47]

1609/10 was a period when dissent became more serious in St. Peter's. William Talbot, from nearby St. Clement's parish, and later a Pilgrim in Leiden, attended "private meetings as prayer or some other exercises."[48] This was, almost certainly, a conventicle, or illegal religious meeting, probably attended by St. Peter's dissenters. An illegal burial of a child of Andrew Sharpe's was conducted with Thomas Bartlett, Mrs. Chilton, Danyell Hooke, and Moses Fletcher in April 1609. They were accused of calling the "kings constitution" unlawful and describing burial services as "popishly ceremonious."[49] Bartlett, Mrs. Chilton, and Fletcher were excommunicated for that offense. Separatists preferred simple burial, without bell ringing, and prayers from the service book. Those three, together with Sharp, eventually moved to Leiden to join the Pilgrim Church. In November 1609, Thomas Bartlett kept his child unbaptized for a month and he was excommunicated again. In November 1609, Moses Fletcher illegally buried his daughter and disrupted the church service with "verye disorderlie and unseemlie" behavior. Fletcher was excommunicated again for that offense in February 1609/10.[50]

Letters from Leiden 1609 and 1610

As early as 1568 and 1586, instruction books on how to write appropriate letters were published in England.[51] *Letterwriting in Renaissance England* described the importance of this type of communication between people.

In early modern England, letter writing was the means by which men and women could establish contact, keep in touch, swap news and gossip, forge alliances, undertake commercial business, [and] sue for mercy or love.[52]

Roger Wilson was in Leiden in 1608. Based on the year and a day requirement already mentioned,[53] Wilson was a guarantor for the citizenship of Bernard Ross who was in Leiden at least from April 1609.[54] Wilson was an active member of the Pilgrim Church well before the majority of other Sandwich Pilgrims.

It is probable that he wrote in 1609/1610 to his Separatist friends in Sandwich to tell them about the formation of the Pilgrim Church and other religious conditions in The Netherlands. Wilson had brothers, friends, and other relatives who were St. Peter's parishioners in Sandwich. Jeremy Bangs, the leading Leiden Pilgrim expert, considered letter writing by Roger Wilson from Leiden to Sandwich in 1609 to be possible, or even likely.[55] The vast majority of Sandwich Separatists were first recorded in Leiden in 1611-1613. No letters from Leiden to Sandwich have been discovered.

Jonas Volmaer, later a minister in the English Reformed Church in 1607, wrote five letters from Leiden to London in 1604 and 1605 when he was a young Leiden University student.[56] He was born in Sandwich c1582 and spoke Dutch and English. He visited his parents in Sandwich and wrote a 17 July 1604, letter from Leiden which included: "My journey from Sandwyts to Leyden was accomplished very well; I was scarcely one night on the water...."[57] In 1604, Volmaer was recorded as twenty-four in the 1606 records of the University of Leiden.[58]

An additional eighteen letters from Leiden dated 1585 to 1603 from the archives of the London Dutch Church were catalogued and translated into English by J. H. Hessels in the late 19th century. These letters to London are a good example of how easily correspondence was sent from Leiden to England as early as 1585. Some of the letters were regarding religious subjects, but most were communications from average people regarding marital disputes, thanks, condolences, and letters from students at Leiden University.[59] John Robinson, the Pilgrims pastor, wrote a letter from Leiden to England in 1609 and "propounded certayne reasons for his separation."[60] That Robinson letter has not survived.

There was, in all probability, frequent boat traffic between Leiden and Sandwich which presented an easy opportunity to transport letters. The sailing distance to Leiden was only about 162 nautical miles and took about twenty-seven hours even at a very slow speed of six knots.

Conclusion

This article has briefly reviewed some conditions that may have encouraged St. Peter's dissenters to emigrate from England to Leiden. Two major factors may have played the most important roles. The Separatists' unfailing belief in the Bible and letters from Leiden in 1609/10. Separatists believed that the Bible was the Word of God. Roger Wilson, who was probably a key influence on the Sandwich Separatists, may have written letters during 1609/10 from Leiden to Sandwich informing them of the establishment of the Pilgrim Church.

We will never know the Pilgrims' reasons for separation, but we do know that they followed the words of the Bible. Their lives were completely different, in another time and place, far, far removed from our own, or even our imaginings. Pilgrim Robert Cushman cited a Biblical verse from II Corinthians, 6:17. This verse was:

Name (some abbreviated)			Leiden Reference	Age June 1613
Bartlett, Thomas, m1599		A	Bangs, 703	e39
Bartlett (Wood), Jane		A	Bangs, 703	e34
Bartlett, Joshuah, 1606		c	Eng. Reg.	10
Bartlett, Mary, 1605		c	Eng. Reg.	7
Bartlett, Rebecca, 1602		c	Bangs, 703	11
Bartlett, Sara, 1600		c	Bangs, 703	12
Basset, William, [Dutch?]	NE	A	Tam, 44	unkn
Basset (Light), Cecily		A	Tam, 44	unkn
Chilton, James	M	A	Bangs, 705	57
Chilton, Mrs.	M	A	Bangs, 705	e47
Chilton, Isabella	NE	A	Tam, 142	27
Chilton, Jane, 1589		A	Bangs, 705	24
Chilton, Elizabeth, 1594		c	Bangs, 705	19
Chilton, Angel, 1599		c	Bangs, 705	13
Chilton, Christ., 1601		c	Bangs, 705	12
Chilton, Jeames, 1603		c	Bangs, 705	10
Chilton, Mary, 1607	M	c	Bangs, 705	5
Ellis, John		A	Tam, 186	44
Ellis, Blandina, m1594		A	Eng. Reg.	e39
Ellis, Chris., 1594		c	Tam, 81	18
Ellis, John, 1598		c	Eng. Reg.	14
Ellis Mary, 1596		c	Bangs, 706	17
Ellis, Susanna, 1600		c	Eng. Reg.	12
Ellis, Elizabeth, 1605		c	Eng. Reg.	8
Ellis, Thomas, 1608		c	Eng. Reg.	5
Fletcher, Moses, m1589	M	A	Tam, 73	e48
Fletcher (Evans), Mary		A	Tam, 73	e43
Fetcher, Mary, 1589		A	Bangs, 706	22
Fletcher, Rychard, 1596		c	Bangs, 706	6
Fetcher, Prescylla, 1599		c	Bangs, 706	12
Fletcher, Elysabeth, 1604		c	Bangs, 706	8
Fletcher, Jane, 1606		c	Bangs, 706	6
Fetcher, Mosses, 1602		c	Bangs, 706	11
Masterson, Richard	NE	A	Tam, 27	32
Masterson, John		A	Bangs, 708	e34
Monke, Rycharde		A	Bangs, 708	e45
Monke, Mrs.		A	presumed	e40
Monke, Edward, 1596		c	Eng. Reg.	15
Monke, Elizabeth, 1593		c	Eng. Reg.	19
Mounk Sara, 1595		c	Eng. Reg.	18
Monke, Thomas, 1603		c	Eng. Reg.	9
Sharpe, Andrew		A	Tam, 243	33
Sharpe, Jennie		A	Tam, 243	e28
Sharpe Benjamin, 1608		c	Eng. Reg.	5
Shingleton. Thomas		A	Tam, 154	28
Shingleton, (Clarke), Mary		A	Tam, 154	22
Shingleton, Samuel	E	A	Bangs, 286	27
Wilson, Roger	E	A	Tam, 290	28

"Wherefore come out from among them, and separate yourselves, saith the Lord, and touch none unclean thing, and I will receive you."[61]

APPENDIX

St. Peter's, Sandwich, Pilgrims in Leiden ages in June 1613

The St. Peter's parish registers, archive records, copy wills, and names in the Pilgrim Archives, Leiden, were compared to the Pilgrims recorded in the Bangs and Tammel books listed below. Most St. Peter's Pilgrims traveled directly to Leiden between 1611 and 1613, and most remained in Leiden. The parish register is in poor condition from 1604 to 1620. No travel documentation has been discovered. The total number was forty-eight men, women, and children, twenty-three of which were adults.

Abbreviations:

Bangs = Jeremy Dupertuis Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims, Travellers and Sojourners* (Plymouth, Mass.: General Society of Mayflower Descendants, 2009).
Tam = Johanna W. Tammel, compiler, *The Pilgrims and Other People from the British Isles in Leiden, 1576–1640* (Isle of Man: Mansk-Svenska Publishing Co. Ltd., 1989).
e = estimated age based on marriage year or the first child's birth.
m = marriage year.
Eng. Reg. = English parish register. Old style dates are from 25 March.
A[dults] = over 21 by June 1613, Church members not after 1630.
c = child and christening year.
NE = sailed to New England.
M = Mayflower passenger 1620.
E = in Leiden before the main Pilgrim group in 1609.

In New England: Mayflower passengers James and Mrs. Chilton and Moses Fletcher died during the first winter, only Mary Chilton survived. Isabella (Chilton) Chandler, William Bassett, and Richard Masterson came later.

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1 erfgoedleiden.nl, Pilgrim Archives, request to settle in Leiden (see John Robinson), February 1609, 0501A/51/33v. The Pilgrim Archives were updated in April 2020 and much improved.

2 Robert Coachman [Cushman], *The Cry of a Stone, or, a Treatise; . . . commonly called Brownists.* (London: R. Oulton & G. Dexter, 1642), British Library, E.137.(32.), 2.

3 William Bradford, *Of Plimoth Plantation*, ed. Kenneth P. Minkema, Francis J. Bremer, Jeremy D. Bangs, (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts and New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2020), 3n1.

4 Jane Andrewes and Michael Zell, "The Population of Sandwich from the Accession of Elizabeth I to the Civil War," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 122 (2002): 92, Fig. 6, Population of Sandwich.

5 William Boys, *Collections for an history of Sandwich,* (Canterbury: Simmons, Kirkby and Jones, 1792), 386-388.

6 Michael Zell, ed., *Early Modern Kent, 1540–1640* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2000), 179.

7 Boys, *Collections for an history of Sandwich,* 740, 742, 747. Marcel Backhouse completed detailed studies of the Flemish and Walloon Church using Sandwich and British Museum records.

8 Marcel Backhouse, "Documenten betreffende de geschiedenis van de Vlaamse en Waalse vluchtelingen [Flemish and Walloon refugees] in Sandwich tijdens de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw," Deel IV. *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire. Académie royale de Belgique*, Tome 162, 1996. pp. 1-47. The fforren booke for the Strangers, 13-16, [66 names, head of households], 1572, 28-31 [86 names]. Extracted from Sa/AC5, The New Red Book, Sandwich, 1568-1582.

9 Marcel Backhouse, "Documenten betreffende de geschiedenis van de Vlaamse en Waalse vluchtelingen in Sandwich tijdens de tweede helft van de 16de eeuw. Deel III:", *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire, Académie royale de Belgique*. Tome 159, 1993, 403/4 citing Sa/AC4 The Little Black Book (1551-1568), f 248v.

10 *Acts of the Privy Council of England Volume 8, 1571-1575.* ed. John Roche Dasent. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1894), 336, 337, 345, 346.

11 Jane Andrewes and Michael Zell, "The population of Sandwich . . .," table page 92.

12 Sir William Monson, *Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts in Six Books*, (London: A. and J. Churchill, 1703), 241/2.

13 Elizabeth Edwards, "Interpretations of the Influence of the Immigrant Population in Kent in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Archaeologia Cantiana*, Vol. 122, 2002, 280.

14 Coachman [Cushman], *The Cry of a Stone*, 22.

15 Christopher Joby, *The Dutch Language in Britain (1550-1702),* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 183.

16 Joby, private correspondence, with permission.

17 Johanna W. Tammel, compiler, *The Pilgrims and Other People from the British Isles in Leiden, 1576–1640* (Isle of Man: Mansk-Svenska Publishing Co. Ltd., 1989), 27, 40, 45, 51, 53, 45, 69, 76, 80, 85, 86, 89, 93, 96, 100, 109, 117, 118, 123, 130, 135, 138, 165, 166, 167, 175, 176, 178, 180, 189, 190, 203, 205, 207, 219, 220, 221, 225, 226, 230, 231, 232, 234, 237, 241, 254, 264, 266, 268, 274, 274, 277, 279. Sandwich 402 persons, Tammel 322-325.

18 Joby, *The Dutch Language in Britain*, 55

19 erfgoedleiden.nl, Pilgrim Archives, "Roger Wilson", various.

20 Stephen Hipkin, "Some evidence for grain storage in Kent during dearth years in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries" www.ruralhistory2015.org/ doc/ papers/Panel_24_Hipkin.pdf accessed February 2017. Rural History Conference. Hipkin cited Sa/ZB3/8-14, Sandwich Borough, Miscellaneous papers, 1608, at Kent History and Library Centre, Maidstone, Kent.

21 erfgoedleiden.nl, Pilgrim Archives, 0501A/1267/45. Jeremy Dupertuis Bangs, "The Pilgrims and Other English in Leiden Records: Some New Pilgrim Documents," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. 143 (1989), 205.

22 Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 280/1.

23 Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 154.

24 St. Clement's, Sandwich, parish register.

25 St. Peter's parish register.

26 Joane Wilson, 1584 will, PRC/17/46/33. Boys, *Collections, History of Sandwich*, 419.

27 Boys, *Collections, History of Sandwich*, 207.

28 William Jacobe, Jaccobe 1599 will, PRC/17/51/345.

29 St. Peter's parish register.

30 Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 284. Pilgrim Archives 0506/94/67.

31 erfgoedleiden.nl, Pilgrim Archives, 1004/198/48v.

32 Pilgrim Archives, 0508/79M/284v. My thanks to Roger Parkins, Zeijen, The Netherlands for his translation.

33 *Acts of the Privy Council of England* Vol. 33, 1613-1614. 304/5.

34 Archdeacon's Court Comperta et Detecta; (Sandwich), Pt. 2 [DCb/J/X/2.5B]: 1593-1603, f201v, at Kent History and Library Centre, Maidstone.

35 *Acts of the Privy Council of England Volume 33, 1613-1614,* ed. E G Atkinson, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1921), 304/5.

36 Boys, *Collections, History of Sandwich*, 419, 420.

37 *Acts of the Privy Council, Volume 33,* 614/5.

38 Christopher Verrall, Sandwich, will, probated 1615, PRC/17/60/325b, at Kent History and Library Centre

39 My thanks to Mary Clow, Chair of the Tyndale Society, for this information.

40 Christopher Verrall Inventory, 1615, PRC/10/52/131.

41 St. Peter's parish register.

42 DCb/J/X/7, Part 1, folio 95r, *Archdeacon's Court Comperta et Detecta; (Sandwich).*

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49 Archdeacon's Court Comperta et Detecta; (Sandwich), Pt. 3[DCb/J/X/2.5C]: 1603-1611, f153v.

50 Archdeacon's Court Comperta et Detecta; (Sandwich), Pt. 3[DCb/J/X/2.5C]: 1603-1611, f161r.

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52 Alan Stewart; Heather Wolfe; Folger Shakespeare Library. *Letterwriting in Renaissance England*, (Washington, D.C. : Folger Shakespeare Library, 2004), 13.

53 See footnote 21.

54 Pilgrims Archives, 0501A/1267/46v, 2 at 0501A/1267/48v, 1004/197/162v, 2 at 0501A/1267/52, at https://www.erfgoedleiden.nl/pilgrimdocs/persons.

55 Private Correspondence, October 2020. With permission. I am indebted to Jeremy Bangs for his very helpful comments.

56 *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae archivum: Epistulae et tractatus . . .*, (London: Typis Academiae, 1897), ed. Joannes Henricus Hessels, letters # 1598, 1617, 1631, 1645, 1648.

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In Memoriam

Ruth Alice Wellstein Lucchesi passed away on May 19, 2021, at Northfield, Illinois. Ruth joined the Illinois Mayflower Society in 1998 and was a descendant of Richard Warren, Edward Doty, John Howland and John Tilley. She served the Illinois Society as Membership Chair and Treasurer. Ruth was honored to serve as a Copy Editor and Proofreader of *The Mayflower Quarterly Magazine* for many years. She also served on three GSMD committees: Technology, Membership and Scholarship.

Ruth was an Illinois Certified Public Accountant and earned an MBA degree from Lake Forest Graduate School of Management. She is survived by her two sons, Nello William Lucchesi and K. Gregory Lucchesi, and two granddaughters, Giuliana Victoria Lucchesi and Alison Ruth Lucchesi.

Submitted by: Jan Harrington

Elizabeth "Betsy" Isham passed away on June 28, 2021, at Burlington, Vermont. Betsy joined the Mayflower Society in 1990 and was a descendant of John Howland, John Tilley, Joan Hurst Tilley, Edward Fuller, and Mrs. Edward Fuller. Betsy served as the Governor of the Vermont Society from 1993 until 1996, was DGG from Vermont From 1999 until 2008, and was the Editor of the *Green Mountain Pilgrim* from 1991 until 2007. Betsy is survived by Janipher Kane of Fairfax, Vermont.

Submitted by: Randy Roberts

Sarah Ann Thompson, a John and Priscilla Alden Descendant

Dana Palmer CG®, CGL(SM)

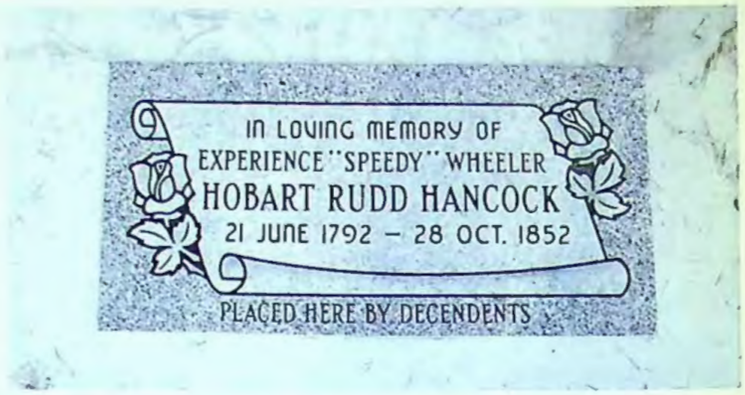
▲ Joseph Hancock and Experience Wheeler.

My husband's family claimed they were descended from John Alden and Priscilla Mullins through his great-grandmother Sarah Ann "Annie" Thompson who married Mansel Hardy Thompson, but his mother's relatives were unable to be accepted into the General Society of Mayflower Descendants through this line because of a lack of kinship proof of Sarah to her parents, Edmund Hobart Thompson and Frances Rachel Wellborn. Finding letters in the manuscript collection at the Historian's office of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah, from Sarah Ann "Annie" to her grandparents, Medad and Phebe Burnham (Hobart) Thompson, finally provided the proof needed to connect the family. Our children are the fifteenth generation from John Alden and Priscilla Mullins. A detailed proof argument of Sarah's kinship was included in approved Mayflower file OH #3544 and GS #91,502.

Sarah Ann "Annie" Thompson's ancestry in Volume 16, Part 3 of the *Silver Books* stops at Experience[6] Alden, wife of Randall Wheeler, daughter of Jonathan[5] and Experience (Hayward) Alden, who was born at Stafford, Hartford County, Connecticut, 27 February 1766.[1] Experience[6] Alden and Randall Wheeler's marriage intent was filed at Greenwich, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, on 10 March 1737/8.[2] Randall Wheeler enlisted as a private in Greenwich, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, on 10 December 1775, serving for six weeks in the militia under Captain Elijah Dwight. He re-enlisted many times for various periods of time in the next several years. In September 1776, he served for three months under Captain Benjamin Bowney in Colonel Samuel Brewer's Company. In May 1777, he served for two months under Captain John Thompson and then for another month in September 1777 under Captain Wilson under Colonel Elisha Porter. He served for five months starting in October 1778 and then for another month in July 1779.[3] After the war, "he resided in Cheshire Co., N.H.; Littleton, Grafton Co.; then to Coos County; then to Madison County, N.Y.; and in 1826 to Erie County, Penna."[4] Randall Wheeler died in 1837 in Springfield Township, Erie County, Pennsylvania. Per the township records at the Albion Library, Randall Wheeler, a Revolutionary War veteran, was buried on the family farm [in Erie County, Pennsylvania], but no longer has a tombstone marker. Experience (Alden) Wheeler died after 22 June 1837.

Experience[7] "Speedy" Wheeler, fifth child of Randall and Experience[6] (Alden) Wheeler, was born at Chesterfield, Cheshire County, New Hampshire, on 21 December 1792.[5] She first married James Hobart at Peeling [now Woodstock], Grafton County, New Hampshire, on 17 November 1808,[6] by whom they had three children. He served as a private in the New York militia in Captain Howard's Company during the War of 1812.[7] His death date has not been found, but it is believed he probably died in the War of 1812 before 1814. She married a second time to Erastus Harper Rudd [at Chesterfield, Cheshire County, New Hampshire] on 28 November 1816, when she was twenty-four years old. They moved to Springfield, Erie County, Pennsylvania, soon after their marriage and resided there until 1822 at which time they moved to Chesterfield, Cheshire County, New Hampshire. Erastus joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on 20 November 1833, with "Speedy" joining soon after, and then they moved to Kirtland, Geauga County, Ohio. Erastus was part of Zion's Camp, but during the march, fell victim to disease on 26 June 1834, at Rush Creek, Missouri, and was buried on the banks of the creek, leaving Experience a young widow with seven children ranging from seventeen years to an infant less than two and one-half years old. Widowed Experience married a third time to widower Joseph Hancock, a fellow soldier of Zion's Camp and friend of her husband [at Kirtland, Geauga County, Ohio, on 22 March 1835]. The two families combined having thirteen in all – the two adults, eight children from Experience, and three children from Joseph. They moved to Hancock, Clay County, Missouri, and resided near Liberty by 12 May 1835, when their first and only child together, Amy, was born. After being driven from their home during the Missouri Mormon War, they settled at Montrose, Iowa, across the Mississippi River from Nauvoo, Illinois. In the spring of 1847, when her husband Joseph traveled west in the first company of pioneers with Brigham Young,

Experience suffered many hardships and eventually moved back to Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, where her children were living. She joined her husband in Council Bluffs, Iowa, leaving to go westward on 1 May 1851. After arriving in the Great Salt Lake Valley, they made their home in Provo, Provo County, Utah Territory. Experience passed away on 28 October 1852, and was buried in Provo on College Hill. After a few years, the graves from this hill were moved to the present Provo City Cemetery.[5]



▲ Experience "Speedy" (Wheeler) Hancock tombstone Provo City Cemetery, Provo, Utah County, Utah.

Phebe[8] Burnham Hobart, eldest child of James and Experience[7] "Speedy" (Wheeler) Hobart, was born at Peeling, Grafton County, New Hampshire, on 21 October 1809.[8] She married Medad Thompson at Springfield, Erie County, Pennsylvania, about 1824. James M. Thompson and Charlotte T. Jones. 2013. *Medad and Phebe Thompson Family Histories & Collection of Letters* is an extensive history of the descendants of Medad and Phebe Thompson, and a typed transcription of the hundreds of pages from the preserved family letters. The original letters were donated to the Church History Library and are part of the manuscript collection, MS 26818. Fortunately, these letters have been digitized and are available for viewing online. There are hundreds of pages in this collection. Some letters are from Edmund and Frances to their parents, while other letters are from Edmund's children to the children's grandparents. Each letter has a card index at the beginning that specifies who wrote the letter, the author's residence at the time they wrote the letter, the date, who the letter was written to, the recipient's relationship to the author, and any other applicable notes.[9] They eventually settled between Iowa and Missouri on the Iowa side,[10] and were found in the 1840 census in Van Buren County, Iowa.[11] Medad and Phebe were making plans to go to Beaver Island, Michigan, when gold was discovered in California. Their plans changed, and Medad bought supplies and equipment from an individual returning to Iowa, and went to California by himself,[12] while Phebe moved to Beaver Island, Michigan. He was enumerated as a miner in Placerville and Vicinity, El Dorado County, California, census in 1850.[13] After being unsuccessful finding gold in California, Medad re-joined his family in Michigan. In the fall of 1854, they moved from Beaver Island to Pine Lake, Oakland County, Michigan. They then moved to the town of Charlevoix after the town opened in the fall of 1857, but before 1862 when the school opened. Medad and Phebe corresponded with their children, grandchildren, and nieces and nephews for many years, but not all of the letters survived. These letters have proved crucial in connecting the family. Medad Thompson died at Charlevoix, Charlevoix County, Michigan, on 12 July 1886, at the age of eighty-six. His obituary was published in the *Charlevoix Sentinel*.[14] Phebe Burnham (Hobart) Thompson died at Charlevoix, Charlevoix County, Michigan, on 4 July 1893.[15]

◀ Phebe (Hobart) Thompson tombstone Brookside Cemetery, Charlevoix, Charlevoix Co., Michigan.

Edmund[9] Hobart Thompson, third child, and eldest son of Medad and Phebe[8] Burnham (Hobart) Thompson, was born at Springfield Township, Erie County, Pennsylvania, on 17 July 1829.[9] He first married, at Scotland County, Missouri, on 4 May 1850, Frances Rachel Welborn,[16] by whom he had eleven children. Phoebe Thomson [sic] and family were found in District 21, Pottawattamie County, Iowa, in the 1850 census.[17] Edmund practiced polygamy and married a second wife, Eunice Paine, at Salt Lake City, Salt Lake County, Utah, on 11 February 1857,[9] by whom he had five children. He married a third wife, Zelpha Cornwell, at St. George, Washington County, Utah, on 4 December 1883,[9] by whom he had three children. Because of the persecution he faced, he moved to Mexico where it was not illegal to have multiple wives, to prepare a home for his family, who were to join him when the home was ready. Edmund died soon after at Colonia Dublán, Nuevo Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, Mexico, on 9 December 1891.[9] Word of his death came via letter and is mentioned in one of the letters preserved in the history of the descendants of Medad and Phebe Thompson collection. This history has an extensive chapter on Edmund Hobert Thompson and his family detailing his movements and family members.

Sarah[10] Ann "Annie" Thompson, sixth child of her father, Edmund Hobart and Frances Rachel (Welborn) Thompson, was born at Ogden, Weber County, Utah, on 21 June 1863.[18] Proving her kinship to her parents was very difficult since birth records were not recorded at that time by the territorial government, her baptismal

▲ Sarah Ann "Annie" (Thompson) Thompson tombstone Luna Cemetery, Luna, Catron County, New Mexico.

entry did not list her parents' names, and her father, who was a practicing polygamist, had another daughter named Sarah Louisa Thompson with his second wife. Sarah Ann was consequently known as Annie, and the other daughter as Sarah. According to Sarah Ann's tombstone in the Luna Cemetery, which is now located in Luna, Catron County, New Mexico, "Annie (Thompson) Thompson [was] born 21 June 1863, [and] died 9 June 1899."[19] At this time, New Mexico was still a territory, and the town of Luna was located in the County of Socorro, which unfortunately did not record deaths until 1907, so a death record did not exist to help identify her parents. In addition, the local newspaper during this time, *The Chieftan*, was damaged, and many pages did not survive, including the one that should have contained her death notice. Family records state Sarah Ann "Annie" Thompson married Mansel Hardy Thompson at Hoopersville, Weber County, Utah, 25 December 1877,[21] but marriages in Weber County, Utah, were not officially recorded until 1887 at the county level and the marriages recorded in the Church Historian's office stopped in October of 1877, so no record of their marriage exists. However, her husband, Mansel Hardy Thompson, who survived her by many years, had an obituary that survived. It confirmed their marriage stating, *"His first wife, Sarah Ann Thompson Thompson, died many years ago."*[20] Proving her kinship to her parents came from examining the records of her siblings and the letters written between her paternal grandparents, her parents, and her siblings. Four letters were especially helpful in establishing kinship. The most important was the letter dated 8 September 1877, where Ann wrote to her grandparents on one side of the page (front and back) and her half-sister, Sarah wrote a letter to the same grandparents on the other front and back side of the same page. The other letters dated 21 January 1872, 30 March 1882, and 16 December 1883, further cemented the familial connection of Medad and Phebe to their son Edmund, and their granddaughter Ann "Annie."[22]

The quest for records to prove this Alden Mayflower line, especially the kinship between Sarah Ann "Annie" (Thompson) Thompson and her parents, illustrates the importance of the preservation, digitization, and sharing of family records, including letters between loved-ones, generations ago carrying family news of bygone years.

With this line now officially accepted by the General Society of Mayflower Descendants, my husband's family claim of descent from John Alden and Priscilla Mullins is proven and recorded for all times, and others who descend from Experience[6] (Alden) Wheeler through her daughter Experience[7] "Speedy" (Wheeler) Hobart, granddaughter Phoebe[8] Burnham (Hobart) Thompson, great-grandson Edmund[9] Hobart Thompson, and great-great-granddaughter Sarah[10] Ann "Annie" (Thompson) Thompson can look forward to joining the General Society of Mayflower Descendants through this line too.

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1 MF 16-3:126.

2 Vital Records of Greenwich, p. 27.

3 Sons of the American Revolution. *Revolutionary Patriots in Erie County, PA*, 91. Citing Pension Record S-22579.

4 *Soldiers of the American Revolution who at some time were residents or, or whose graves are located in Erie County, Pennsylvania.* (Erie Co. PA Chapter, NSDAR, 1929), 87).

5 Daughter of the Utah Pioneers. "Experience Wheeler Rudd Hancock" biographical sketch from the records of Erastus Harper Judd Jr. Her full birth and death dates were listed on her tombstone Find-A-Grave memorial #10827584.

6 Peeling, New Hampshire. Marriage Records. 1808, p. 484; citing FHL microfilm 1,001,262.

7 War of 1812 Service Records, 1812-1815; citing microfilm publication M602, roll 100.

8 Peeling, Grafton County, New Hampshire VR p. 60; citing FHL microfilm 1,000,947.

9 Thompson family correspondence, 1854-1907, 2013. LDS Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah. (https://eadview.lds.org/findingaid/002366332/ : accessed 7 Nov 2016), MS 26818. Correspondence written by various Thompson family members including but not limited to Edmund, Calvin, Louisa and James Thompson to their parents, Medad and Phebe Thompson. Includes two boxes and 10 folders of materials.

10 Thompson, James M. and Charlotte T. Jones. *Medad and Phebe Thompson Family Histories & Collection of Letters*, Second Edition. (Las Vegan, Nevada: James M. Thompson, 2013), p. 4-5.

11 1840 U.S. Census, Van Buren County, Iowa Territory, population schedule, p. 287 (stamped), Medora [sic] Thompson; digital images, *Ancestry.com* (www.ancestry.com : accessed 30 June 2021); citing National Archives microfilm publication M704, roll 203.

12 *History of Medad and Phebe Thompson*, p. 5; citing a letter from Julia Einwachter to John Edmund Thompson dated 24 Nov 1944.

13 1850 U.S. Census, Eldorado County, California, population schedule, Placerville and Vicinity, p. 263B (stamped), dwelling 1, family 6, Medaud [sic] Thompson; digital images, *Ancestry.com* (www.ancestry.com : accessed 30 June 2021); citing National Archives microfilm publication M432, roll 34.

14 Charlevoix County, Michigan. Death Record. 1886, p. 154, entry 14; citing FHL microfilm 2,363,631.

15 Charlevoix County, Michigan. Death Record. 1893, p. 192, entry 392; citing FHL microfilm 2,342,774.

16 Missouri, Scotland County. Marriage Records. Bk A, p. 55; citing FHL microfilm 7,515,691.

17 1850 U.S. Census, Pottawattamie County, Iowa, population schedule, District 21, p. 111B (stamped), dwelling 756, family 756, Phoebe Thomson [sic]; digital images, *Ancestry.com* (www.ancestry.com : accessed 30 June 2021); citing National Archives microfilm publication M432, roll 188.

18 Church membership letter; Thompson family correspondence; gs photo.

19 Find-A-Grave, database with images (http://www.findagrave.com : accessed 7 November 2016), memorial 40498856, Sarah Ann "Annie" *Thompson* Thompson (1863-1899), Luna Cemetery, Luna, Catron County, New Mexico; gravestone photograph by Nancy E Brown.

20 Mansel Hardy Thompson," obituary, *The Salt Lake Tribune* (Salt Lake City, Utah), Tue. April 18, 1933, p. 7, c. 5. *Newspapers.com* (http://www.newspapers.com : accessed 7 Nov 2016), obituary for Mansel Hardy Thompson.

21 Edward Hobart Thompson Family Bible.

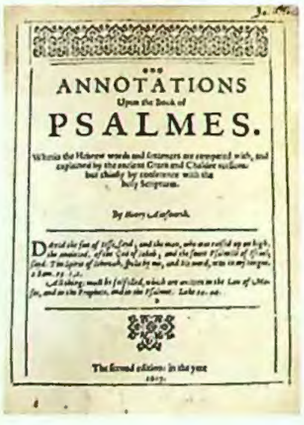
22 Thompson family correspondence.

The Pilgrims' Hymn Book – Henry Ainsworth's Annotations Upon the Book of Psalms

David P. Russo

As the psalms of David exceed all other language, so does the psalmody that has been fitted to them by the divines and sages of the land, surpass all vain poetry.

– James Fenimore Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans*


ANNOTATIONS
Upon the Book of
PSALMES.

In *The Mayflower Quarterly Magazine* (Winter 2020) I discussed the extraordinary gift of the Ainsworth Psalter from Pilgrim Isaac Allerton to Giles Heale the *Mayflower*'s surgeon. This particular volume is in the Library of Virginia, Richmond.

The two-volume bound work entitled: *Annotations Upon the Book of Psalmes* includes in the "first" book, Ainsworth's translation of the psalms and accompanying annotations (see: *MQM* Spring 2021).

In this present discussion, I will consider the second half of the Ainsworth Psalter concerning *The Psalms in Meter*. In this volume, the translated Psalms are set to music by this fellow Separatist and friend of the Pilgrims in Holland. Henry Ainsworth (1571-1622/23) was a well-known biblical scholar and translated many of the Hebrew scriptures. He was a member of the "Ancient" Separatist Church in Amsterdam.

Today we refer to the *Book of Psalms* as the sacred text intended to be read. *Psalters*, on the other hand, have become known as *liturgical books* – books of sacred texts set to music to be utilized in religious services.

The singing of the psalms was an important component of the Pilgrims' worship of God, whether personally, or corporately. John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrims in Leiden, posed the question:

What is required touching singing of psalms in the church? His answer: That they be such as are parts of the Word of God, formed by the Holy Ghost into psalms or songs, which many may conveniently sing together, exhorting and admonishing themselves mutually, with grace in their hearts.

As the Pilgrims gathered in Leyden for their sendoff in the *Speedwell* to meet up with the *Mayflower* in England, Winslow tells us:

They that stayed at Leyden feasted us that were to go at our pastor's house, [it] being large; where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of Psalms, making

joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard.

The Protestant Reformation brought with it the versification of the Psalms as they were set as hymns. Versification is the term used to transform the words of a verse (prose) to fit a song (meter).

Ainsworth writes in the Preface:

And hereof this booke of Psalmes (most whereof David made) is a glorious testimony; wherein by manifold Psalmes, and Hymnes, and spirituall Songs, he set forth the praises of God…he sang by the Spirit, with such heavenly melody, as may not only delight, but draw into admiration every understanding heart, and comfort the afflicted soule with such consolation as David himselfe was comforted of the Lord.

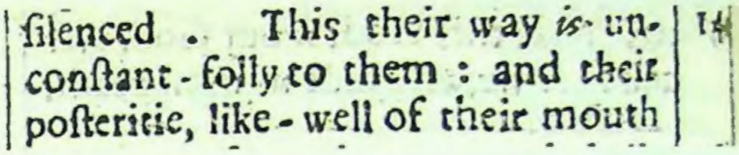
In order to fit the text of the psalm to music, the versification of the Psalms could only approximate the actual Hebrew texts. Michael Morgan notes that "the nature of a metrical psalm automatically puts it into the category of a 'paraphrase' rather than a 'translation'– not a literal, word-for-word transfer from one language to another but rather a figurative, meaning-for-meaning interpretation, whether from one language to another, or within the same language."

In "A Preface, declaring the reason and use of this Book" (in the 1612 edition) Ainsworth describes the principles followed in his translation. His first concern is fidelity to the Hebrew text. However, in the metrical version of each psalm, he explains that he uses:

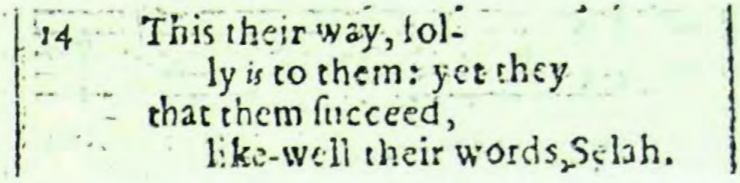
somewhat more liberty, partly for playnness sake, as putting "words," for "mouth," Psal. 49, 14. chiefest for head, Psal. 137.6. and sundry the like which in sense are the same, and easier for the simple: partly for necessitie, adding sometime words, which yet are included in the Hebrue; as to bless thankfully, Psal. 103.1,2. wheras in the prose, I use onely bless; but the scripture proveth thanks to be included in our blessing of God .... The like I do in many other epithetes, taken from the force of the Hebrue word, as the skilful in that [Hebrew] tongue I know.

Ainsworth continues, *Yet rather than I would stray from the text, I streyn now and then, with the rules of our English poesie in the just ending alike of both verses, & sometime in the quantitie of a syllable; which in a work of this sort, I trust al sincere minded wil forgive.*

A comparison of Psalm 49 and Psalm 103 both in prose and in meter.

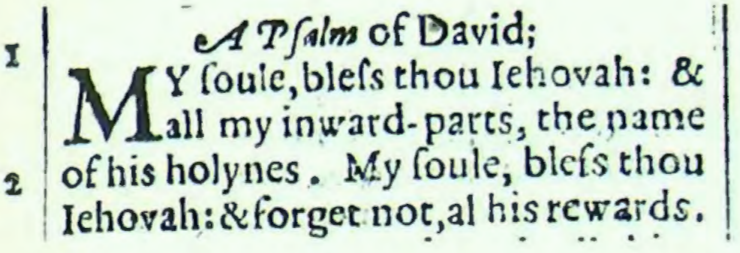


Psalm 49:14 Prose:
This their way is un-constant- folly to them: and their posteritie, like-well of their *mouth*

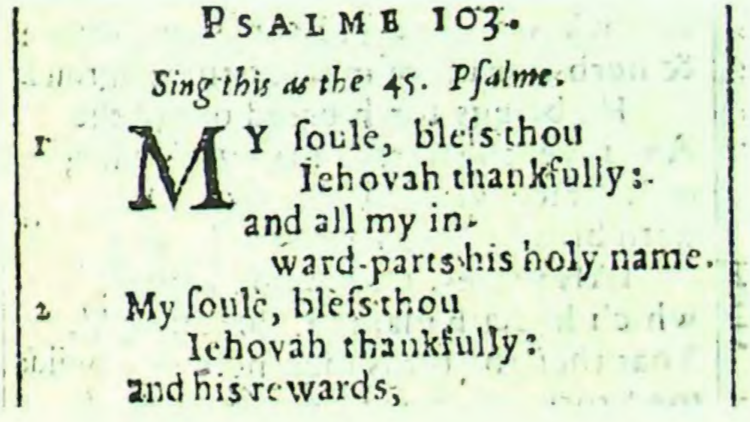


Psalm 49:14 Meter
This their way, fol-ly is to them: yet they that them succeed, like-well their *words*

Ainsworth describes the change in wording found in Psalm 103: 1-2 in meter, Ainsworth explains: *"to bless thankfully, wheras in the prose, I use onely bless; but the scripture proveth thanks to be included in our blessing of God."*


A Pſalm of David;
1 MY ſoule, bleſs thou Iehovah: &
all my inward-parts, the name
2 of his holynes. My ſoule, bleſs thou
Iehovah: & forget not, al his rewards.

Psalm 103:1-2 Prose
My soule, *bless* thou Jehovah: & all my inward-parts, the name of his holynes. My soule, *bless* thou Jehovah: & forget not, al his rewards,

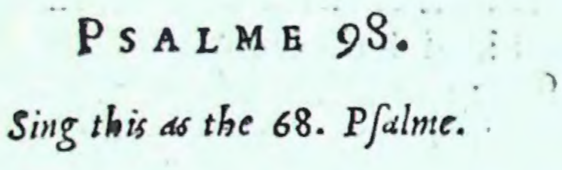


Psalm 103:1-2 Meter
My soule, bless thou Jehovah *thankfully:* and all my inward-parts his holy name. my soule, bless thou Jehonah *thankfully:*

Ainsworth employs thirty-nine different tunes in the Psalter. Regarding the sources of the music Ainsworth writes:

Tunes for the Psalms I find none set of God; so that each people is to use the most grave, decent and comfortable manner of singing that they know. The singing-notes, therefore, I have most taken from our former Englished Psalms, when they will fit the measure of the verse. And for the other long verses I have also taken (for the most part) the gravest and easiest tunes of the French and Dutch Psalmes.

For a Psalm in which no music is given, there is a cross-reference, such as with Psalm 98: "Sing this as the 68 Psalme."


PSALME 98.

Sing this as the 68. Pſalme.

For the Pilgrims, singing the psalms was an act of prayer. By the singing of the psalms, this tiny remnant, on their own extraordinary Exodus was able to lift up their voices to God as their Judeo-Christian ancestors had for three thousand years. They not only connected with the faith of the past, they could live it out in the very present times and hold on to hope for the future.

Through singing the psalms, the Pilgrims celebrated joy, remembered their trials, gave thanks, faced fear, offered praise, found hope, shared trust, weathered present difficulties, and would fall onto their knees in repentance. The singing of the psalms was a vital form of worship for the Pilgrims where one's voice, body, and soul entered into the deepest and most intimate practice of prayer.

With Henry Ainsworth's *Annotations Upon the Book of Psalmes*, the Pilgrims had their own translation of the *Book of the Psalms* and corresponding music in which to embrace their God. The Resources section below provides references and links to examples of this music being performed, providing a glimpse into this important act of Pilgrim prayer.

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1 Robinson, John, The *Works of John Robinson*, vol. 3, John Snow, 1851, London. *https://oll.libertyfund.org/ title/robinson-the-works-of-john-robinson-vol 3.*

2 Michael Morgan, *A Joyful Noise: English Metrical Bible Versions*, (Bible Editions Versions, Jan/Mar 2001.

Photo Credits:
Ainsworth, Henry, The Allerton-Heale copy of the *Annotations Upon the Booke of Psalmes*, 1617. Allerton-Heale copy, Library of Virginia, Richmond.

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Ainsworth, Henry, *Annotations Upon the Booke of Psalmes, Wherein the Hebrew Words and Sentences are Compared with, and Explained by the Ancient Greek and Chaldee Versions: but Chiefly by Conference with the Holy Scriptures*, 1617/18. Early English Books Online (EEBO): Print Edition.

Contemporary musical performances of 17th century Psalms:
Bucke, Marye, Psalm 100 – Ainsworth Psalter, YouTube, September 8, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xr__qFLb3gs.

The Chancel Choir of Plymouth Church, Shaker Heights, OH, *Harps of Joy*, Heritage Society, Turner Falls, New Jersey, 1979. LP.

Music of the Genevan Psalter, Calvin College, 1999, CD.

Performance of Ainsworth's Psalm 137 by Passamezzo, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qeOi437d1RA.

Performance of Ainsworth's Psalm 107 by Passamezzo, https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=838008643262444.

Online Discoveries: Historic Information, Part One – The Massachusetts Cultural Resource Information System (MACRIS)

Dale H. Cook

Introduction

Many amateur genealogists begin their research with purely genealogical data such as vital records, and eventually move on to probates, deeds, and other sources. Eventually, some of them want to learn more about the historical background of their ancestors' towns. Many states have a variety of information available on their state websites. Researchers probably look for that sort of information in connection with their Mayflower ancestors, most often in Massachusetts towns. That state has an excellent collection of information online in the Massachusetts Cultural Resource Information System (MACRIS)[1] – a database maintained by the Massachusetts Historical Commission. It will be the first of our explorations of historical information put online by federal, state, and local governments.

Format of the MACRIS Database

The database consists mainly of scans of forms concerning historic properties and areas submitted to the Massachusetts Historical Commission, as well as a number of photographs. The scanned forms have been digitized into downloadable PDF files. It is organized first by cities and towns, although some municipalities are not as well represented as others. There is information in the Historical Commission's files that has not yet been digitized because the digitization project is ongoing. The second level of organization is by one of five resource types. Those are area (which is generally a set of buildings in a location such as a campus or a town center), building, burial ground, object (most often an item of industry such as a gristmill stone, a machine, or farm equipment), and structure (such as a town common, bridge, dam, mill pond, or industrial site).

Format of Individual Database Entries

For a given town, each resource type lists individual entries, each with an inventory number (a three-letter abbreviation for the town followed by three digits), the resource name, street or geographic indication, town, and year. The remaining three columns may note listing in the State Register of Historic Places, provide a link to a photograph, a link to a scanned inventory form, or an indication that the resource has been nominated for the National Register of Historic Places or is part of a National Register multiple property submission. The most useful of those is an inventory form, but those are not available for all resources. The MACRIS database does not contain scans of National Register submissions, but those will be the subject of my next column.

Typical Contents of an Inventory Form

The type of resource that I most frequently consult at MACRIS is a burial ground inventory form, but all types of inventory forms have a generally similar structure. Each resource specifies the name and location of the resource with a brief description, relevant dates or years, an indication of whether it is on public or private land, other brief resource-specific information, and the name and position of the person submitting the inventory with the submission date. The balance of an inventory generally contains assessments of the historical, architectural, or visual significance of the resource, and may include photographs and maps, as well as lists of published and manuscript accounts related to the resource.

The Value of Inventory Forms

Many Mayflower descendants may find it illuminating and rewarding to investigate historical resources connected to their ancestors. Studying those resources may help the researcher to appreciate the surroundings, life, and times of their ancestors. The MACRIS inventory forms are one of those historical resources that I have found to be particularly illuminating. Future columns will address additional historical resources.

Dale H. Cook <webmaster@plymouthcolony.net> serves as the Plymouth County Coordinator for the USGenWeb Project, and specializes in Plymouth Colony families, especially those of Bridgewater, MA. Dale is a contributing genealogist for *The Mayflower Quarterly Magazine.*

1 Online at https://mhc-macris.net/

When is a Puritan not a Puritan?

W. Becket Soule

When I was in graduate school, doing research on the English Reformation, one of my teachers said, "You know, you are going to have to go to England and continue this research: they actually still fight about this stuff over there." I am nonetheless regularly surprised by the vehemence with which people (usually Americans) contend – sometimes without, sometimes with threats and force – that Puritans and Separatists are mutually exclusive. They usually know one, and only one, thing about each group: that one thing is normally membership in the Church of England – the Puritans accepted membership in the Church of England, so the story goes, and the Separatists rejected it. That may be, however, a distinction without a difference.

Andrew Cambers, in his 2011 study on *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720*, provided this as a definition of Puritanism: "This book defines Puritanism as a way of characterising that strand of reformed Protestantism which is best known for its expression of dissatisfaction with the prevailing theological and ecclesiological state of the English church and for desiring its reform in line with the precepts of Calvinist theology. It argues that this desire for reform was rooted in a series of cultural practises which were used by the godly to deliberately set themselves apart from the majority of the population and to confirm them in their status as a persecuted minority."[1] Robert Charles Anderson concludes that "this definition has the virtue of picking out doctrine (Calvinism), church government (arguments against episcopacy), and 'cultural practises' (a strong desire for sermons, which included gadding after the sermons of preachers in other parishes; the refusal of some ministers to wear the surplice; taking communion standing; and so on) as signs of Puritanism, even if all of them were not present in any one person at a given time.... Unlike 'Puritan,' an opprobrious term created by opponents, 'godly' was a designation used by the godly themselves. This usage derived in part from the feeling that those so described could recognise one another just by their behaviour."[2] So the Puritans did not really call themselves "Puritan."

As Anderson convincingly points out in *Puritan Pedigrees*, "Puritanism" was something of a spectrum: on the one end, there was the conforming Puritan, who might even wear vestments and use the sign of the cross at baptism (both considered hideous Popish monstrosities); then there were the Presbyterians, the backbone of Cromwell's movement, who rejected episcopacy but were happy for their own polity to manifest in the established church; then there were the "independents" or Congregationalists who gathered in single individual congregations; finally, at the other end, there were the fringe groups: the Family of Love, the Brownists, and the Separatists. These last groups certainly satisfy Cambers' definition of "Puritan" in doctrine, Church government and cultural practises. But the continuum of radical Protestantism is not simply an interpretative tool: it is a valuable way of seeing interconnections between various groups, geographically, theologically, and genealogically.

The Separatist movement argued that the Church of England was so corrupt and unchristian, that it was really no church at all: the goal was, as Michael Winship quips in his recent work *Hot Protestants*, to start over as the "only way to kick start England's stalled Reformation."[3] But the division between the two groups seems to be an argument about means rather than ends: both "resolved to practice discipline, to shun non-preaching ministers, to avoid contact with the bishops as much as possible, and to instruct the laity.... To Queen Elizabeth, Presbyterianism, like puritanism itself, was dangerous because it was too popular, but to the separatists, Presbyterianism was dangerous because it was not popular enough."[4] A separatist congregation was functioning in Norwich by 1581 under the minister Robert Brown, whose name is associated with the movement ("Brownist"). The principal distinction between the groups appears to be their different views of church government: the conforming Puritan was happy to work within the structure of episcopacy, particularly when his own bishop was benevolent, or at least benign; the Presbyterian believed that decisions should be made by a church's ministers and (lay) elders; the Separatists viewed these understandings as theft and a power grab by tyrannical bishops and church elders – in the New Testament, they argued, decisions were made by all laymen collectively.

But once the question of church governance and polity was passed, the theological presuppositions of these movements were very much alike. All were staunchly Calvinist, required a rigorous moral stance based on a literal reading of Scripture, and opposed to what were seen as human inventions infiltrating and contaminating the purity of the Gospel, particularly by ritual in worship. By looking at the similarities between and among the groups of Puritans, with varying degrees of nonconformity, one is able to see connections that would otherwise be imperceptible. Many recent discoveries of the English origins of the

Mayflower passengers have come from looking at the communities of Puritans (broadly conceived) to discern not only the theological commonalities, but also the interconnectedness of different families, associates, communities, and congregations. The strict division between Separatist and Puritan, which would not have been recognised by the godly themselves, would almost inevitably cause researchers to miss key pieces of evidence by dismissing one group or the other.

The distinction and division between the Puritans and Separatists, at least notionally, also seems to arise in a different way and for a different purpose in the United States. John Seelye reviewed[5] how the Pilgrims have been re-imaged and re-imagined in every generation. He pointed out that the strict division between the Puritans and the Pilgrims arose in the nineteenth century, as the Puritans were blamed for hanging witches, persecuting Quakers, attacking Indians, and generally making everyone miserable. In short, it was H. L. Menken's definition of Puritanism ("The haunting fear that someone, somewhere, may be happy").[6] The Pilgrims, on the other hand, were the few, the happy few, who found religious liberty and freedom, and turkey with cranberry sauce, and lived in peace with everyone. Both are, of course, caricatures and neither is really accurate, except when viewed through nineteenth century lenses. But it is also clear that once shorn of nineteenth century (or even twenty-first century) intellectual baggage, the godly Pilgrims were *both* Puritans (the genus) and Separatists (the species), who came to America principally to be left alone.

In 1959, Deputy Governor General Louis Ellsworth Laflin, Jr. (IL) proposed a resolution, "BE IT RESOLVED, By the General Board of Assistants at its annual meeting in New York, September 19, 1959, that the term 'PURITAN' should not be applied to any passengers of the *Mayflower* of 1620, which carried the first settlers of Plymouth Plantation, except to Christopher Martin and Solomon Power, and in the name of William Brewster and William Bradford, only before the year 1604 or 16 years before the *Mayflower* sailed. After 1604, all of the 1620 Mayflower 'PILGRIMS' were SEPARATISTS." While this resolution was adopted, the whereas clauses supporting were muddled, at best, and confusing, at worst. *The Mayflower Quarterly* quoted Laflin as saying, "I think it high time that we made some official recognition of the difference between the Pilgrims and the Puritans. If the Pilgrims established civil and religious liberty, it was done as Americans. If they were Puritans, they were Church of England, and they were not for civil and religious liberty."[7] Prescinding from the promiscuous use of capital letters in the resolution, almost every word of his defence descends into cartoonish caricature, the resolution raises more questions than it settles, and the principal issue may be whether a scholarly question of theology can best be settled by the majority vote of a lineage society. The only thing worse than a fight between churchmen is a fight between grammarians – because in such a conflict, each party *knows* it is right.

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1 Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 13.

2 Robert Charles Anderson, *Puritan Pedigrees: The Deep Roots of the Great Migration to New England* (Boston: NEHGS, 2018), 5.

3 Michael P. Winship, *Hot Protestants: A History of Puritanism in England and America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 46.

4 Ibid.

5 *Memory's Nation: The Place of Plymouth Rock.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

6 "Clinical Notes by H. L. Mencken and George Jean Nathan," *The American Mercury*, v. 4, n.13 [Jan 1925], p. 59

7 *The Mayflower Quarterly* 25, n. 1 (November 1959): 32.

Pilgrim Progress Celebrates 100th Anniversary!

The Pilgrim Progress is celebrating its 100th Year Anniversary this year! Instituted by the Town of Plymouth in 1921 as part of the 300th year anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims, the Pilgrim Progress continues to honor the faith and courage of the Pilgrim Founders.

This event is based on an actual eyewitness account of a Dutch visitor who observed the Pilgrims gathering for worship in 1627.

▲ Photo by Helen Churchill.

Each Friday in August customed participants make their way from the Mayflower Society House to Plymouth Rock and then walk up Leyden Street to the top of Burial Hill where a short Pilgrim worship service takes place. Pilgrim Progress also takes place on every Thanksgiving morning.

The reenactors use the Book of Psalms translated by Henry Ainsworth during their worship service on Burial Hill. This site is known as the original fort/meetinghouse of the Pilgrims. For more information, contact Pilgrim Progress at pilgrimprogress1620@gmail.com.

BOOK REVIEWS

We are happy to accept publications for review in *The Mayflower Quarterly Magazine*. Preferred subject matter includes:

- Transcripts or abstracts from unpublished public or private records or some aspect of research methodology having a major bearing on the Colony of New Plymouth or Mayflower passengers or their descendants;
- Family histories and other publications considered as complementary to Mayflower research;
- Works on the history of New England in the seventeenth century, particularly as related to Mayflower passengers and descendants.

When forwarding copies, please include selling price and any other add-on costs to the consumer (postage, handling, sales tax, etc.) as well as the address to which interested parties may direct their inquires or orders. If possible, include an email address where you can be reached. Publications submitted for review become the property of the General Society of Mayflower Descendants, which donates them to the GSMD Library for the use of all patrons. Please submit review copies to:

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The Mayflower Migration: Immigrants to Plymouth

Robert Charles Anderson

Robert Charles Anderson, *The Mayflower Migration: Immigrants to Plymouth, 1620.* Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2020. xlii + 229 pages; index of surnames, first names, places, and ships. hardback: ISBN 978-0-88082-399-9, $54.95.

It has been repeated over and over again during the past few years leading up to the Pilgrim Quadricentennial that the passengers of the *Mayflower* are the most thoroughly researched group of settlers – one might almost simply say "people" – in what became the United States of America. The writings of four hundred years have deposited layer upon layer of story, to avoid the modern political code words of "narrative" and "myth." The boom in genealogy and family history over the last few decades, combined with genealogy coming into its own as a discipline, as distinct from both a hobby and "stories my grandmother told me," has also raised interest not just in the social and political history of the Plymouth Colony, what they ate and wore, but in the details of who exactly these people were, as unique individuals in their place and time.

And no one may be more aware of that outpouring of literature, scholarly and otherwise, than Robert Charles Anderson. Since 1988 he has been the director of the Great Migration Project, the gargantuan project cataloguing the 20,000 men, women and children who crossed the Atlantic to settle in New England between 1620 and 1640. *The Mayflower Migration*, clearly brought out to take advantage of the increase in interest in both the period and the people of that famous voyage, attempts to identify and describe all of the passengers who sailed to New England on the *Mayflower* in 1620.

There is no exact contemporary passenger list for the *Mayflower*; William Bradford compiled two lists in 1651 as appendices for his journal *Of Plimmoth Plantation*. One list named those who had been on the ship, and a second list provided the births, marriages and deaths among the Mayflower passengers in the intervening three decades. Anderson seeks to provide a concise and reliable summary of past research on each of the passengers, and adds several others: the one passenger who died at sea (William Butten), the two children who were born aboard the *Mayflower* (Oceanus Hopkins and Peregrine White), and the crew members who were hired to remain at Plymouth when the *Mayflower* returned to England.

Anderson's primary goal is to document each life as completely as possible. Most of the sketches in this book have already appeared

twice before: first in 1995 in the volumes of *The Great Migration Begins: Immigrants to New England, 1620-1633* (Boston: NEHGS), and then again in 2004 in *The Pilgrim Migration: Immigrants to Plymouth Colony 1620-1633* (Boston: NEHGS). The standard sketch consists of four sections: migration, biographical detail, genealogical detail, and pre-migration biography. The last of these sections was not contained in the previous two publications, and shows how much has been accomplished in the last few decades, summarising what is known of the immigrant's life before the arrival in New England. Particular problems are reviewed in a comments section, and the sketch concludes with a bibliographic note for those for whom published material is available. All identified children are included, with whatever sources are available for their date and place of birth, but for the most part, this second generation is simply named without further description.

A particularly fascinating part of this work is its introduction, entitled "The Gathering of the Mayflower Passengers." The passengers are divided according to their pre-migration origins, and the various clusters of family and associates are truly enlightening. As Anderson mentions, "For three-quarters of a century, ... the ruling paradigm for interpretation of the composition of the passenger complement of the *Mayflower* was that presented by George Willison in *Saints and Strangers* [New York, 1945]. In his 2009 magnum opus, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, Jeremy Bangs characterized that paradigm as 'pitting the original Leiden religious fanatics (as [Willison] considered them and whom he called 'Saints') against the group recruited in England (whom he designated 'Strangers')'" (p. 3). Anderson's goal, and he succeeds magnificently, is to show that this group was not simply a binary dichotomy, either/or, but was a collection of people from a variety of places across England and northern Europe. The research appears to point to a two-to-one split between those who had connections to the Leiden congregation, and those who were based in London. But most of the London contingent had clearly reformist, if not radical Protestant, sympathies, and Willison's picture of the small Scrooby congregation cowering before a large group of profane and secular adventurers out for loot yields to Anderson's picture of a larger group united in a common purpose. It could not have been otherwise, for if Willison's paradigm were the whole story, there would be no one left to tell the tale, for they would all have surely perished.

While this work is the result of decades of research, it is, of necessity, incomplete. As a work in progress, there is a good bit of current research that is missing, particularly in the bibliographical notes. Something like Susan E. Roser, *Mayflower Passenger References from contemporary records and scholarly journals* (Toronto: Stewart Publishing and Printing, 2015) needs to be kept close at hand, although even Roser's work, more than double the size of Anderson's *Pilgrim Migration*, could be updated, given the outpouring of research and new discoveries in recent years. While Anderson has not ignored any major discoveries, he also has not told as complete a story as he might have. This is the problem with almost every directory, which becomes outdated the second it is published.

If someone wanted only one, single book on the Mayflower passengers and their details before, during, and after the voyage, which provided the sources and let the facts speak for themselves, Robert Charles Anderson's *Mayflower Migration* must surely be that book.

– W.B.S.

Intellectual Baggage: The Pilgrims and Plymouth Colony – Ideas of Influence

Jeremy Dupertuis Bangs

Jeremy Dupertuis Bangs, ed. *Intellectual Baggage: The Pilgrims and Plymouth Colony - Ideas of Influence.* Leiden: Leiden American Pilgrim Museum, 2020. 298 pages; illustrations, facsimiles, maps. hardback: $40. Available from Lulu (https://www.lulu.com/).

Intellectual Baggage is the catalogue of an "imaginary exhibition" of more than fifty books the Pilgrims owned and read. Bangs here expands on the fascinating and ground-breaking work he published in the last decade on *Plymouth Colony's Private Libraries* (Leiden: The Leiden American Pilgrim Museum, rev. ed. 2018).

Several significant works have been published in the last few decades on the Pilgrims and their books. Two of the most notable are Lawrence Geller and Peter J. Gomes, *The Books of the Pilgrims* (New York: Garland,

1975) and Douglas Anderson, *William Bradford's Books, Of Plimmoth Plantation and the Printed Word* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003). The first of these is primarily a catalogue of the books of the Pilgrim Society kept in their research library at Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth; the 175 seventeenth-century books were in a collection assembled by Arthur Lord, who attempted from Justin Winsor's 1887 transcribed list to "re-assemble" the books that would have been in William Brewster's library. This collection, alas, has now been changed from a research library to a wall decoration, as Pilgrim Hall converted this location from a library, for which it had been built, to exhibit space. The second of these does not look at the contents of William Bradford's library as much as it investigates the idea that Bradford did not write his journal *Of Plimmoth Plantation* simply as a private diary, but intended it for wider distribution and publication.

Bangs' *Plymouth Colony's Private Libraries* transcribes and annotates the actual inventories not only of William Brewster's extensive private library of almost 400 books, but also of other Plymouth Colony collections, as seen particularly in seventeenth-century wills and property inventories. Out of 510 inventories, forty-five name book titles and authors; fifty-one mention a Bible and other (unspecified) books; and Bibles and Psalm books only are found in an additional thirty-nine. Inventories that mention no books at all number 198, although this does not mean that the decedent owned no books – they could have been given away, as an object of significant personal value, before the person's death. What becomes clear from this is the level of education and the hunger for learning that existed among the settlers in the Plymouth Colony in the seventeenth century. These were far from rural, country bumpkins. The lists overwhelmingly contain, not surprisingly, religious works, but the non-religious works are not negligible either in their number or in their topics: science (particularly "physick"), literature and language, law, and history.

Intellectual Baggage, in a sense, takes up where *Plymouth Colony's Private Libraries* leaves off. This book examines the content of the books we know the Pilgrims to have owned and brought to the New World, frequently at great cost and with great difficulty, so as to reveal to us the ideas that influenced the Pilgrims' understanding of their lives and their surroundings. Essays by Jeremy Bangs, Frank Bremer, David Furlow, David Lupher, and Sarah Moine illuminate the history of the Pilgrims, their religion, their culture, and their lives with books. Catalogue entries by Jeremy Bangs, Donna Curtin, Connor Gaudet, and Sarah Moine examine particular books owned and read by William Brewster, William Bradford, Myles Standish, and other Pilgrims. The books are in English and Dutch for the most part, and while the Bible is presented first in the list, followed by early church histories and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (*Actes and Monuments*), there are a number of literary productions of the colony itself. I was surprised to see a section on Thomas Morton's *New English Canaan* – which is about as far from the Pilgrim mindset as one could possibly get.

The term "imaginary exhibition" given in the book's subtitle ("A catalogue of an imagined exhibition, 2020") betrays a sad backstory. The original idea was to organise an exhibition that would go beyond the standard story of the Pilgrims and reveal something new about them and their times; Bangs was asked to supervise such an exhibition in 2016, to be held at Leiden's Municipal Museum – the museum's curator came up with the clever title "Intellectual Baggage." Eventually, however, the backers and coordinators (Bangs only identifies "the marketing department of the town of Plymouth in England") shifted the emphasis from a study of the Pilgrims themselves to a presentation of modern political issues. As has happened all too frequently in the last few years, commemorations on both sides of the Atlantic of the 400th anniversary of the sailing of the *Mayflower* have not mentioned the *Mayflower* at all, and the line between interpretation and advocacy has been blurred, if not completely obliterated. The exhibition was eventually cancelled, because "the director thought the word 'intellectual' would scare off the public. … Logically, then, even if the intended exhibition has been cancelled, the catalogue can be produced and will have some value for readers interested in the Pilgrims and their colony" (p. 7).

Most major exhibitions produce a catalogue, so that those who are unable to visit the exhibit itself can still enjoy the objects presented, and can spend time exploring their explanations. This catalogue is lavishly illustrated with portraits and woodcuts. One of the most startling discoveries comes at the very beginning when Bangs presents a series of allegorical engravings of the twelve months that were used by Edward Winslow *as decorations*: "That any of the Pilgrims decorated their primitive dwelling in the raw and remote colony with a series of sixteenth-century Netherlandish artworks gives pause to the common presumption that Plymouth Colony was an exercise in rude rusticity" (p. 10). In so many ways, this catalogue helps us to know the Pilgrims better.

– W.B.S.

Mayflower to Michigan and Beyond: My Family's Journey

Susan Ruth

Susan Ruth, *Mayflower to Michigan and Beyond: My Family's Journey*. Washington, DC: Opus Self-Publishing Services, 2020. viii + 298 pages; illustrations, charts, maps. hardback: ISBN 978-1-62429-300-9, $30. Available from Politics and Prose Bookstore, 5015 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20008 (https://www.politics-prose.com/).

There is always a certain guilty pleasure from reading the history of someone else's family: the comparisons with the stories of one's own family, real or imagined, are constant, but, frequently, so much is left out or assumed in the reader by the author that it is not possible to connect some of the dots. Susan Ruth has done a magnificent job in chronicling her family story: starting with twelve ancestors, she has followed the lines to the present, using photographs, correspondence, newspaper accounts, and documentation.

The principal interest for readers of *The Mayflower Quarterly Magazine*, of course, would be seventeenth-century New England. Ruth's first two ancestors are Richard Warren of the *Mayflower*, and John and Abraham Harding of the ill-fated Wessagusset plantation. There is certainly no lack of striking – and powerful – figures here. Ruth's line goes from Richard Warren through his daughter Elizabeth to Richard Church. It is disappointing that so little is said about Richard Church, who gets only a single sentence, while his son Benjamin gets two whole paragraphs.

Church was a principal aide to Plymouth's first native-born Governor, Josiah Winslow. During King Philip's War, for six hours Church and just thirty-seven other Englishmen from Plymouth Colony withstood an assault by more than three hundred Indians in a battle known as the Pease Field Fight, west of modern Nonquit Pond, between Tiverton and Little Compton, Rhode Island. Church was eventually allowed to recruit native warriors to fight alongside the colonists when traditional tactics of the time proved unsuccessful. He persuaded many neutral or formerly hostile Indians to join his ranger units, where they operated skillfully as irregular troops. Though sometimes considered America's first "Great Indian Fighter," Church's first inclination was to try to find common ground. When first settling in Sakonnet, he was the only Englishman for miles, surrounded by Indians on three sides, and the Sakonnet River on the other. Church vehemently opposed Governor Winslow's decision to sell Indian captives into slavery, and sought clemency for former Indian rivals after the war. Richard Church dictated his story to his son Thomas, first published in 1716 as "Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War."

More is, thankfully, said about Richard Warren's wife Elizabeth (Walker) Warren. Originally supposed to join her husband on the voyage to the New World, Elizabeth and her daughters were put off the ship when the *Mayflower* and *Speedwell* returned to Plymouth after the smaller ship sprung a leak. Ruth paints a touching picture of Elizabeth waving goodbye to her husband as he proceeded, without her or their daughters, to New England; it would have been made even more poignant by mentioning two facts: Elizabeth and her daughters were supposed to be on that ship, and, if they had been on the *Mayflower*, they most probably would have died that first winter, given the horrendous mortality of women and children. Thus, if Elizabeth had boarded the *Mayflower* with her husband, in all likelihood Susan Ruth would not be here to tell her story (nor would I). Such is the role of contingency in history.

Another significant part of the Elizabeth (Walker) Warren story is that she survived her husband by forty years, without remarrying. The "widow Warren" raised her family, and not only must have been a strong woman, but is most probably the woman of the Plymouth Colony about whom we know the most, because, as the head of a household, she appears on land transactions, tax lists, and various property divisions. While Priscilla Mullins is adored by Alden descendants for the romanticised "speak for thyself" of Longfellow, her name does not appear on a single document other than her father's will -- and thus her first words are spoken over a century and a half after she died. The widow Warren, on the other hand, was the only woman granted the status of a "Purchaser." One of the great discoveries of the past two decades must surely be the identification of Elizabeth's English origins, as the daughter of Augustine Walker of Great Amwell, Hertfordshire (Edward J. Davies, "The Marriage of Richard[1] Warren of the Mayflower," TAG 78:2 [Apr 2003]:81-86). The absence of this, and so much more, maybe the result of quite a bit of overreliance on secondary sources, which is unfortunate since primary sources are so easy to find for this family through such aids as the Silver Books; *Mayflower to Michigan and Beyond* is not, of course, a work of scholarship, but a fuller and more colourful picture of some of these pioneers can be drawn from even a minimal perusal of the available primary sources.

This assessment comes, perhaps, from a focus, not to say squint, on seventeenth-century New England. There is much, much more in this book, abundant in primary sources so that Ruth's ancestors can speak in their own words. It is an enjoyable and entertaining read, covering the full sweep of American history, and showing us the names, and frequently the faces, of pioneers.

– W.B.S.

Mayflower Families Silver Books Additions and Corrections

Contributed by Judith H. Swan, Former Governor General

MF 24:3 William Brewster, #269, p.12 – Correction to Dinah[6] Muxham, daughter of Samuel and Hannah[5] (Perry) Moxam/Muxum/Muxham/Moxie.

John A. Leppman's article states Dinah (Muxham) Besse married second, Andrew Sturtevant before 1789.[1] This conflicts with information that Dinah died at Wareham 22 December 1765 and David outlived her.[2] David Besse of Wareham married, second, in Rochester 31 August 1769 Experience Snow.[3] Andrew Sturtevant, named in Leppman's article, married Dinah Besse in 1786, the daughter of Jabez Besse, and the granddaughter of David and Dinah (Muxham) Besse.[4]

The entry in the children's list should read as follows:

vi. Dinah[6] Muxham, b. ca. 1716; m. at Rochester 20 July 1738 David Besse Jr.;[1] d. at Wareham 22 Dec 1765 as his wife.[2]

References: 1] Rochester VR, 2:223. [2] *FindAGrave*, #117771911, photo by "Caryn," [3] Rochester VR, [4] Rochester VR, 2:37.

Contributed by Judith H. Swan, Former Governor General

MF 16:3 John Alden, #864, p. 217 – Citation correction for Elizabeth[5] Carver.

Within sketch #864, for Elizabeth[5] Carver, there is a citation in the fourth paragraph for a deed of 28 June 1773 which reads, "Plymouth Co LR, 57:50". That directs the researcher to look at Plymouth County Land Record, volume 57, page 50, which is incorrect. Plymouth County deed books of that period did not use page numbers, they used folio numbers. However, looking at folio number 50 is also incorrect. It is in volume 57, folio 164. The reference should read, "**Plymouth Co LR 50:164 recto.**" The reference to the second deed is cited correctly. Thanks to Dale H. Cook for bringing this to my attention.

Contributed by Judith H. Swan, Former Governor General

MF 12 Francis Cooke, #61, p. 120 – Addition of children for David and Maria[5] (Hammond) Clark.

Historian General Marjorie K. Hurtuk approved the addition of children of Maria (Hammond) Clark, based on the will of David Clark,[5] written 6 April 1751, which names his three children and the will of his son, Joseph Clark,[6] resident of Granville, Massachusetts, who named children David and Moriah. Joseph Clark is found in deeds in Hampden County, Massachusetts, with David Clark of Coventry, Connecticut, and calls David, "his brother" and mentions "His Honoured Father, David Clark."[7]

The entry in the children's list should read as follows:

330 ix. **Maria[5] Hammond**, b. at Rochester 27 January 1697/8; d. at Coventry, Connecticut bet. 18 May 1731 and 6 March 1736.[9] She m. at Rochester 15 July 1717 **David Clark**, a seafaring man.[10] ... David Clark d. at Coventry 3 May 1751.[19] His 26 April 1751 will names his three children.[20]

Children of David and Maria[5] (Hammond) Clark, births not recorded:

a. Joseph[6] Clark, b. ca. 1718; d. at Granville, Mass. 15 Oct. 1780;[21] m. (1) at Lebanon, Conn. 15 Feb. 1739 Grace Thomas, with whom he had eight children;[22] m. (2) at Granville 27 July 1767 Ruth (Barnes) Hubbard, with whom he had five children.[23] All children listed in Joseph Clark's will at FamilySearch.org, Hampshire County, Probate Records, Vol. 13-14, p. 345.

b. Hannah Clark, b. ca. 1722; d. aft. 1751 when she signed with her mark a probate document as "Hannah Clark."[24] No marriage, children, death date or place have been found for Hannah.

c. David Clark Jr., b. ca. 1726; m. 27 Dec. 1752 Christian Stedman, b. at Wethersfield, Conn. 8 Oct. 1727.[25] No children or death date or place have been found for David Clark Jr.

References: [9] Plymouth Co. LR 50:22; *Coventry by Dimock*, p. 134 (2nd marriage of David Hartford). [10] *VR Rochester*, 2:155. [19] Dimock, *BMD of Coventry, Conn.*, 177. [20] Windham Prob. Dist., Conn., David Clark, packet #823, 1752, Coventry. [21] Granville VR, 187. [22] Granville, Mass. VR, Clark, *@ma-vitalrecords.org*

[23] Granville VR, 107. [24] Windham Prob. Dist., Conn., David Clark, packet #823, 1752, Coventry. [25] Barbour Collection, Wethersfield, 246.

Contributed by Peggy M. Baker

MF 19:2 Thomas Rogers, #408A, p. 89 – A new family for Ruth[6] Crowell, daughter of John Crowell and Experience[5] (Higgins) Crowell.

The new sketch #408A should read as follows:

408A. Ruth[6] Crowell (*Experience[5] Higgins, Jonathan,[4] Elizabeth[3] Rogers, Joseph,[2] Thomas[1]*) was born at Yarmouth, Barnstable County, Massachusetts, 18 October 1722, the daughter of John and Experience (Higgins) Crowell.[1] She died, probably as Ruth (Crowell) Covel, after 6 January 1792 [see deed cited below].

She is probably the Ruth Crowell who published intentions at Yarmouth 3 October 1747 and married first there 26 November 1747 **Amos Okilley** or **Killey**.[2] She is the only documented Ruth Crowell of an age to make this marriage, and the lands Ruth Okilley received on the death of her husband in 1761 were adjacent to those of John Crowell.[3] The family connections are strengthened by the 1752 marriage of Ruth Crowell's brother, Jasher,[4] and Amos Okilley's sister, Deliverance.[5] Ruth Okilley named two sons Abner and Shubal while Ruth Crowell had two siblings Abner and Shubal.[6]

Amos Okilley was born 12 November 1723, the son of Amos and Abigail (Venney) Killey.[7] He died before 5 January 1762, when Joseph Hall was named administrator of his estate.[8] On 6 February 1762, Ruth Okilley was named guardian of the minor children of Amos: Abner, Anthony, Naomi, Veney, Shubal and Amos.[9] When Amos Okilley's estate was divided 30 March 1762, his brother, Seth, received one-sixth of his property and his widow received one-third.[10] A 20 December 1762 accounting indicates that the remainder of Amos Okilley's land was sold to pay his creditors. Amos Okilley's land was described as abutting the lands of John Crowell.

Ruth Okilley of Yarmouth published intentions there, and at Chatham, Barnstable County, Massachusetts, 14 August 1762 and married second **James Covel**.[11A] He is said to have been the son of Joseph and Hannah (Bassett) Covel; he was probably born circa 1706.[12] James Covel had married first at Harwich, Barnstable County, Massachusetts, 4 August 1727 Mehitable Nickerson; the couple had ten children before Mehitable's death at Chatham 26 November 1760.[13]

In his will, written 2 June 1781 and probated 14 June 1781, James Covel named his wife, Ruth, bequeathing her provisions for her use and the use of their "Three Little Children," Ruth, Joshua, and Nathan. He also gave her, for her own use, his great Bible and a book entitled *Heaven Upon Earth, or Best Friend for the Worst Times.* He bequeathed his "wife's daughter Naomi Godfrey" a large pewter platter. He then named his older children and various grandchildren.[14] Ruth was named guardian of her three Covel children 14 June 1781.[15]

On 6 January 1792, son, Joshua Covel, and his wife, Elizabeth, with the signature of Ruth Covel, sold land in Chatham, reserving to son, Nathan Covel, who was a witness, a right of way through the property.[16]

The children of Amos and Ruth[6] (Crowell) Okilley or Killey, born at Yarmouth:[17][B]

i. Amos[7] Okilley, b. 26 July 1748; d. at New Bedford, Bristol Co., Mass. 18 Sept. 1803;[18] m. at Dartmouth, Mass. 5 June 1777 Content Wood.[19]

ii. Shubal Okilley, b. 26 Nov. 1749; d. as "Shubael Kelley," 14 Dec. 1783, in his 34th year;[20] pub. int. at Harwich 18 Oct. 1776 and at Yarmouth 27 Oct. 1776 and m. at Harwich, Barnstable Co., Mass. 12 Dec. 1776 Esther Howes.[21]

iii. Veney Okilley, b. 27 Sept. 1751; d. as "Vinney Killy," 31 March 1810, age 59;[22] pub. int. at Yarmouth 15 Dec. 1775 and m. Sarah Laurence.[23]

iv. Naomi Okilley, b. 25 Oct. 1753; pub. int. at Chatham 6 Oct. 1774 and m. there 3 Nov. 1774 Joshua Godfrey Jr.[24]

v. Anthony Okilley, b. 2 March 1756; d. as "Anthoney Killey," drowned on Harwich Flats, 26 Nov. 1800, in his 43rd year;[25] pub. int. at Harwich 30 Nov. 1799 and m. Reliance Gage.[26]

vi. Abner Okilley, b. 5 Sept. 1759.

The children of James and Ruth[6] (Crowell) (Okilley) Covel, born at Chatham:[27]

vii. Ruth[7] Covel, b. 13 Sept. 1764; d. as Ruth Hall, wife of Edward, 8 May 1817, age 53;[28] she, of Chatham, pub. int. at Harwich 1 March 1782 and m. Edward Hall Jr.[29]

viii. Joshua Covel, b. 13 Oct. 1766; d. 14 June 1827, age 60;[30] m. at Harwich 13 Oct. 1787 Elizabeth Hall.[31]

ix. Nathan Covel, b. 6 Sept. 1768; d. 18 Aug. 1864, age 95 years 11 months 13 days;[32] pub. int. at Chatham 27 Nov. 1790 and m. (1) at Chatham Tabitha Taylor;[33] m. (2) Dorcas Taylor.[34][C]

Notes: [A] James Covel, as Chatham Town Clerk, entered the intentions himself into the records. [B] Births recorded as "Okilley" in Yarmouth. Most of the children

used "Kelley" or "Killey" as adults. [C] The identity of Dorcas Taylor is known from the 14 Aug. 1892 death record at Bath, Sagadahoc Co., Maine of Ruth C. Dill, age 86 years 7 months, parents Nathan Covel and Dorcas Taylor, both of Cape Cod.

REFERENCES: [1] Yarmouth, TR 3:101. [2] Yarmouth, TR 3:97, 46. [3] Barnstable Co., PR, 12:254-55; 319-20. [4] *MF* 19:2, #409. [5] Yarmouth, TR 3:57. [6] *MF* 19:2, #410, #411. [7] Yarmouth, TR 3:121. *NEHGR*, 151:315-16. *TAG*, 80:304-307. [8] Barnstable Co., PR, 10:98[2]. [9] Barnstable Co., PR, 11:190-95. [10] Barnstable Co., PR, 12:254-55, 319-20. [11] Yarmouth, TR 3:130; Chatham, VR & TR, 2:119. [12] Smith, *Early Chatham Settlers*, 4-7. [13] *MD*, 11:175. Chatham, VR & TR, 2:61; 3:75. [14] Barnstable Co., PR, 21:112-15. [15] Barnstable Co., PR, 18:129-31. [16] Chatham Town Deeds, 2:320. [17] Yarmouth, TR 3:184. [18] Dartmouth and New Bedford, VR, 2:304. [19] Dartmouth, BMD, 2: unpaginated; FHL #4279436, image #279 and #416. [20] *MD* 13:161. *FindAGrave*, #130178158, North Harwich Cem., Mass., photo by "Caryn." [21] Harwich, TR 1731-1794, 2:240. Yarmouth, BMD 1766-1822, 35. [22] *Cape Cod Gravestones*, South Dennis Congregational Ch. Cem., Mass., trans. [23] Harwich, TR 1731-1794, 2:268. [24] Chatham, VR & TR, 1A:531; 3:67. [25] *FindAGrave*, #49428933, North Harwich Cem., Mass., photo by "Caryn." [26] Harwich, TR 1731-1794, 2:267. [27] Chatham, VR & TR, 2:61. [28] *MD* 14:28. *Cape Cod Gravestones*, Harwich First Congregational Ch. Cem., Mass., trans. [29] Harwich, TR 1731-1794, 2:281. [30] *FindAGrave*, #44938356, Maple Grove Cem., Bath, Maine, photo by "Maine 101." [31] Harwich, TR 1731-1794, 2:358, 362. [32] *FindAGrave*, #44936045, Maple Grove Cem., Bath, Maine, photo by "Maine 101." [33] Chatham, VR & TR, 3:289. [34] "Maine Death Records, 1761-1922."

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_MF_ 16:2 John Alden, #445, p. 88 – An additional child, PHEBE[6] MANCHESTER, for BENJAMIN and MARTHA[5] (SEABURY) MANCHESTER.

Martha Seabury married Benjamin Manchester at Little Compton, Newport County, Rhode Island, on 16 August 1723, yet their list of recorded children begins three and a half years later with daughter, Ruth, on 15 January 1726/7.[8] It is probable that they had an additional, unrecorded child, Phebe, born during that gap, seemingly named for Martha's mother.

Nathaniel Smith Jr. and Mrs. Phebe Manchester published intentions at Bristol 26 April 1746 and married 21 May 1746.[9] Nathaniel died on a vessel returning from Surinam in late 1747,[10] and the posthumous birth of his son Nathaniel was recorded at Bristol 5 January 1747/8.[11] On 3 October 1763, Nathaniel Smith, minor son of Nathaniel Smith Jr., late of Bristol, mariner, deceased, appeared before the Bristol Town Council and "chose his grandmother Martha Manchester of Bristol" to be his guardian.[12] This Nathaniel, who must have been between 14 and 20 years old, was undoubtedly the son of Phebe (Manchester) Smith, and Martha Manchester would have been the married name of Phebe's mother. Benjamin Manchester had died three years previously, but the widow Martha (Seabury) Manchester lived until 1780. A search for other Marthas in the vicinity who married into a Manchester family did not turn up any likely candidates.

The entry in the children's list should read as follows:

The children of Benjamin and Martha[5] (Seabury) Manchester, born at Bristol:[1]

i PHEBE[6] MANCHESTER,[A] b. ca. 1724;[B] pub. int. at Bristol 26 Apr. 1746 and m. 21 May 1746 NATHANIEL SMITH JR;[2] d. 1747.[3] They had at least one child, *Nathaniel*, b. 5 Jan. 1747/8.[4]

NOTES: [A] On 3 October 1763, Nathaniel Smith, minor son of Nathaniel Smith Jr., late of Bristol, mariner, deceased, appeared before the Bristol Town Council and "chose his grandmother Martha Manchester of Bristol" to be his guardian.[5] The Mrs. Phebe Manchester who married Nathaniel Smith Jr. in 1746 must be the daughter of Martha Manchester. [B] Phebe's most logical birth date falls about 1724 between the marriage of her parents in 1723 and the birth of her sister, Ruth in 1726/7.

REFERENCES: [1] Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 6:1:89. [2] Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 6:1:34, 50. [3] Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 6:1:162. [4] Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 6:1:103. [5] Bristol PR, 2:222.

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_MF_ 23:3 John Howland #519, p. 341 – A different second husband for ABIGAIL[5] WARDWELL.

Abigail Wardwell married first, Restcome Sanford, who died by July 1783.[13] She was not the Abigail Sanford whose marriage intentions with Thomas Pearse were published at the Bristol Congregational Church on 4 December 1785.[14] This latter intention was a coincidence of names and timing, and instead Abigail's second husband was Nathaniel Munro.

Nathaniel Munro married first, Mrs. Abigail Gallup, at Bristol on 13 November 1766.[15] They recorded children Samuel, Lydia, Abigail, and Nathaniel Munro.[16] Abigail (Gallup) Munro died in January 1779 and shares a grave marker with Nathaniel's parents.[17]

On 21 November 1783, Nathaniel Munro of Bristol, ship joiner, and his wife Abigail quitclaimed to Aaron Bourne any interest they had in the estate of "Rescomb

Sanford."[18] They recorded two sons at Bristol, including William Wardwell Munro, whose middle name provides additional confirmation of Abigail's identity.

Nathaniel's 12 August 1794 will was proved at Bristol on 6 February 1805.[19] It names wife Abigail, sons Samuel, Nathaniel, William, and Mathias, daughter Lydia Oxx, and two daughters named Abigail: Abigail Ingraham, wife of Daniel, and Abigail Liscomb, wife of John. The latter was Nathaniel's stepdaughter, born Abigail Sanford, who married John Liscomb.[20]

The following additions and corrections should be made:

- Remove the third paragraph of the profile, detailing the marriage to Thomas Pearse, and replace with the statement of the marriage with Nathaniel Munro, with no record known but a *terminus ante quem* of 21 November 1783, the date of the above deed.
- Remove the final four paragraphs in the profile, starting with "Following her second marriage...."
- Remove the section detailing the three children of Thomas and Abigail Pearse.
- Add the children of Nathaniel and Abigail (Wardwell) (Sanford) Munro.

The children's list should read as follows:

Children of Nathaniel and Abigail[5] (Wardwell) (Sanford) Munro, recorded at Bristol:[1]

vii WILLIAM[6] WARDWELL MUNRO, b. 9 October 1781; d. Bristol 2 April 1806; m. by Elder Wight 29 April 1804, HANNAH FALES, of Jonathan and Elizabeth.[2]

viii MATTHIAS MUNRO, b. 24 April 1785; bp. 13 November 1785 by Elder Wight;[3] d. 8 April 1836 "Rev. Matthias, formerly of Bridgewater, Mass., 51y.";[4] bur. Trinity Church Cemetery at Bridgewater, Mass.; m. DIANA NELSON.[5]

REFERENCES: [1] Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 6:1:93. [2] Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 8:332, 343. *MF* 23:3, #514 child (v), p.329. [3] Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 8:282. [4] Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 6:1:150. [5] Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 8:312, 313. *MF* 20:3, #664 child (ii), p. 215.

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MF 18:2 Warren #534, p. 220 – An additional child, PETER[6] REYNOLDS, for NATHANIEL and MARY[5] (LITTLE) REYNOLDS, and corrections to Nathaniel Reynolds.

The birth of Mary Little's first husband Nathaniel Reynolds was recorded at Bridgewater with the date 19 March 1718, parents Nathaniel and Mary Reynolds.[21] There seems to be no direct evidence of Nathaniel's parentage, but indirect evidence seems, on balance, to move strongly against this identification and to point toward his being, instead, the son of Peter and Mary Reynolds baptized at Bristol on 27 October 1717.

There is a compelling account of the life of Nathaniel Reynolds of Bridgewater, son of Nathaniel and Mary (Snell) Reynolds. Marion H. Reynolds published a genealogy including these Reynolds families in 1931, using good sourcing for that period.[22] Mary was the daughter of Thomas Snell of Bridgewater, and her husband, Nathaniel, died in 1719, leaving Mary with two infant sons. Mary then married David Ames and lived at Bridgewater, where her sons later sold land together. When she died, she made a will and named her Ames children as well as her sons Nathaniel and Thomas Reynolds. The birth record for Nathaniel recorded in the Bridgewater records was recorded immediately above the children of David and Mary Ames. This is undoubtedly not a coincidence: the Nathaniel Reynolds recorded there must have been her son. He remained in Bridgewater through his life and married and had children. He was almost certainly not the husband of Mary Little.

To identify Mary Little's husband, it should first be noted that the intentions of marriage of Mary Little and Nathaniel Reynolds were recorded at Bristol on 13 June 1741.[23] An earlier intention was recorded between Nathaniel Reynolds of Bristol and Mercy Pitts of Dighton, Massachusetts, on 12 December 1739, but no evidence has been found to show that a marriage then occurred.[24] Peter Reynolds of Bristol died leaving land to his three sons: Peter, Eleazer, and Nathaniel.[25] On 30 July 1739, Nathaniel Reynolds, cordwainer, and Jonathan Peck, both of Bristol, and Peter Reynolds of Enfield divided this land (Jonathan having bought out Eleazer).[26] Thus, Nathaniel son of Peter was living in Bristol around the time of the two recorded marriage intentions.

Nathaniel and Mary Reynolds of Bristol only recorded a single son, Peter Reynolds, baptized at Bristol on 26 December 1742.[27] The timing makes it very likely that his mother was the Mary Little with recent banns, and the son's name lends onomastic support to the identification of the father, Nathaniel, as the son of Peter. Mary's existing sketch makes no mention of a son Peter Reynolds.

A search of vital, land, and probate records did not reveal evidence of a second Nathaniel Reynolds in Bristol between 1735 and 1750. Marion H. Reynolds also profiled this Nathaniel and his father and brothers in the Reynolds genealogy, and he explicitly states the same conclusion: Nathaniel Reynolds, son of Peter, was the only man of that name in Bristol at the time. Bristol was part of Bristol County of the Province of Massachusetts Bay until the town was ceded to Rhode Island in 1747.

Within Bristol County, we find eight additional land records involving a Nathaniel Reynolds, cordwainer, of Bristol, several involving the mortgage and sale of land inherited from father, Peter Reynolds, and two involving the purchase and sale of land from Samuel Little, presumed to be Mary's brother.[28] Four of the records show Nathaniel as sole grantor, all executed in 1740, while two show him as grantor and one as grantee with wife Mary, these dated 14 March 1742/3, 19 May 1744, and 30 August 1744. The common location and occupation and the timing of the appearance of Mary after 1742 all correlate with this being one man in all of the transactions, the one who married Mary Little.

Nathaniel Reynolds, the husband of Mary Little, died in Jamaica in September 1746.[29] It seems strange that a cordwainer was so far from home, since the southern military engagements that killed numerous Rhode Island militiamen had ended several years prior. Nevertheless, the land transactions conducted by Nathaniel and Mary Reynolds of Bristol concluded in 1744, and we find no further land transactions involving Nathaniel in the Massachusetts records, nor in the Bristol, Rhode Island, records commencing in 1747. His brother Peter sold the remaining third of their father's farm to Jonathan Peck in 1756, and otherwise, these Reynolds men vanished from the local land records.[30]

Mary married second, Samuel Miller in 1748, as his second wife.[31] Samuel was probably lost at sea around 16 September 1750.[32] On 10 August 1756, the Warren Town Council appointed Silvester Child as guardian of Mary Miller of Warren, who was "delirious or distracted," empowering him to administer her estate and care for her person and family; inventory of her estate was taken in September 1756 and presented 7 March 1757, at which time she was alive.[33] Samuel's children by his first marriage petitioned the Warren Town Council for guardians in 1757 and then 1760.[34]

On 6 February 1758, Peter Renholds, son of Nathaniel Renholds, late of Bristol, deceased, petitioned the Warren Town Council to appoint Benjamin Miller as his guardian.[35] On 6 March 1758, Peter Raynolds, minor son of Nathaniel Raynolds, cordwainer, deceased appeared before the Bristol Town Council and requested that Daniel Bradford be appointed his guardian.[36] This Peter, being between 14 and 20 years old, and son of Nathaniel, was almost certainly the one baptized at Bristol in 1742, son of Nathaniel and Mary Reynolds. The timing of these guardianship requests, and the connection to both Warren and Bristol provides further support to his being the son of Mary (Little) (Reynolds) Miller.

The author thanks WikiTree and the WikiTree community, in particular Sandra DeTora and Bobbie Hall, who provided valuable feedback as this article was researched.

The following additions and corrections should be made:

- Amend Mary's first husband's birth date/place and parentage.
- Add the following child of Nathaniel and Mary (Little) Reynolds:

The children's list should read as follows:

Child of Nathaniel and Mary[5] (Little) Reynolds:

i. Peter[6] Reynolds, bp. Bristol 26 December 1742;[1] m. at Warren 3 January 1765, Patience Cole, b. 12 September 1744 (recorded Warren, which was incorporated from Swansea in 1747), daughter of Benjamin and Mary (Beverly) Cole.[2] Peter and Patience removed to Pittstown, Rensselaer County, New York, and were residents there on 9 October 1795 when they quitclaimed to Ichabod Cole of Warren all their right in the estate of their father Benjamin Cole.[3]

References: [1] Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 8:176. [2] Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 6:2:15, 34, 58. She was named Patience Raynold in her father's 1783 will; Warren, R.I., PR 2:109-110. [3] Warren, R.I., deeds 3:424; FHL microfilm #902937.

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1 Leppman, "The Maxim-Maxham-Maxam Family," *TAG* 57 (Oct. 1981): 209-218, specifically 212.

2 *FindAGrave*, #117771911, photo by "Caryn."

3 *VR of Rochester, Mass. to the year 1850*, vol. 2, (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1902), 37, 282.

4 Deposition of claimant, Andrew Sturtevant (Mass.), no. S.38400, Rev. War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant App. Files; RG 15; NARA M804, roll 2319; Fold3.com.

5 David Clark, packet #823, 1752, Coventry, Windham Probate District, Connecticut; Ancestry.com.

6 Hampshire Co., Mass., PR 1768-1784, vol. 13, p. 345, Ancestry.com.

7 FamilySearch.org.

8 Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 6:1:89; *MF* 16:2, #445, p. 88.

9 Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 6:1:34, 50. It was not uncommon in the Bristol town records to find "Mrs." used even when recording a woman's first marriage. See, for instance, Mary Church (*MF* 18:2, #603, p. 277), who married John Chandler on 12 June 1746, or Mary Sampson (*MF* 18:2, #603, p. 277), who married Samuel Clarke

on 18 January 1747. Both were first marriages, and both records recorded the bride as "Mrs." (Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 6:1:13-14).

10 Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 6:1:162.

11 Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 6:1:103.

12 Bristol, R.I., Wills, Inv. &c. No. 2 (transcribed from book 2), p. 222; FHL microfilm #912025.

13 *MF* 23:3, #519, p. 341.

14 *MF* 23:3, #519, p. 341.

15 Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 6:1:22, 38.

16 Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 6:1:92-3.

17 *R.I. Hist. Cem. Comm.*, cem. #BR004, Abigail Munro; RIHistoricCemeteries.org.

18 Bristol, R.I., Deeds vol. 4, pp. 144-5; FHL microfilm #912007.

19 Bristol, R.I., Wills no. 4, pp. 83-4; FHL microfilm #912023.

20 *MF* 23:3, #519, p. 341.

21 *MF* 18:2, #534, p. 220.

22 Reynolds, *The Hist. and ... Desc. of Robert and Mary Reynolds (1630?-1931) of Boston, Mass.* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Reynolds Family Assoc., 1931), pp. 71-8 and 95-7.

23 Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 6:1:33, 45.

24 Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 6:1:44, 45.

25 Bristol Co., Mass., Probates 6:126-7; FHL microfilm #461883.

26 Bristol Co., Mass., Deeds 27:517-8; FHL microfilm #465434.

27 Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 8:176.

28 Bristol Co., Mass., Deeds 26:439; 28:422, 430; 30:60-61; 31:222; 35:85, 100.

29 Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 6:1:159.

30 Bristol, R.I., Record of Deeds 1:276; FHL microfilm #912006.

31 Arnold, *VR of R.I.*, 6:2:31, 34, the record calling them Samuel Miller of Warren and Mrs. Mary Reynolds, of Bristol.

32 Warren, R.I., PR 1:151, 261; for analysis, see McTeer, Frances Davis, "The Millards of Rehoboth, Massachusetts" Part 7, *The Detroit Society for Genealogical Research Magazine* 24 (1960).

33 Warren, R.I., PR 1:130, 148-9.

34 Warren, R.I., PR 1:151, 193.

35 Warren, R.I., PR 1:159.

36 Bristol, R.I., Wills, Inv. &c. no. 1 (transcribed from book 1), p. 515; FHL microfilm #912025.

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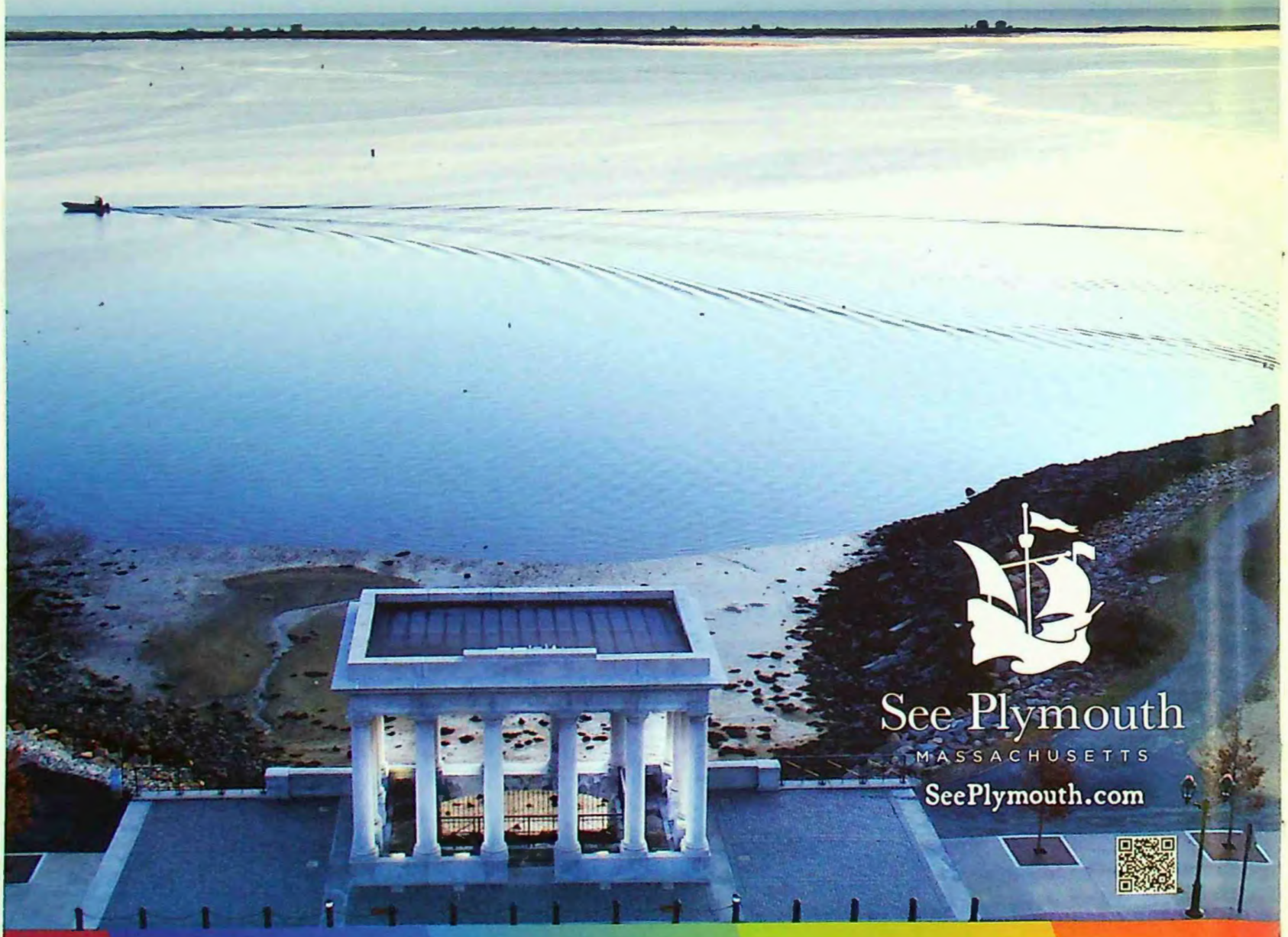

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